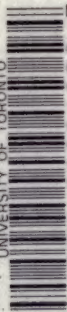


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THE BOOK OF
GLASGOW CATHEDRAL

A History and Description

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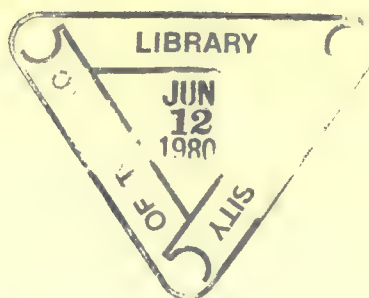
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GLASGOW
MORISON BROTHERS, 52 RENFIELD STREET

1898



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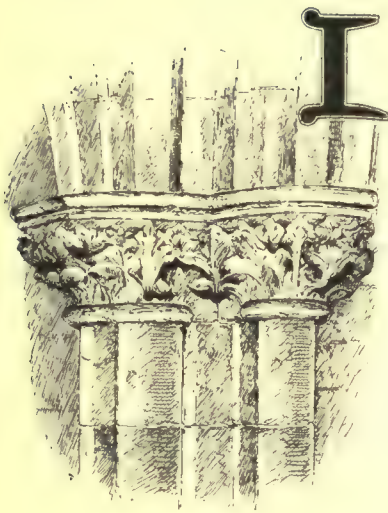
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PREFACE.



Capital in Blacader's Aisle.

IT is somewhat astonishing to discover how little has been done until recently to elucidate the history and associations of Glasgow Cathedral. Spottiswood, M'Ure, and Keith, it is true, in turn compiled catalogues of the holders of the See ; but previous to the year 1830 M'Ure may be said to have been the only collector of general information on the subject, his statements being for the most part simply repeated, without addition or verification, by later historians of the city. None of these historians—Gibson, Brown, Denholm, Cleland, or Wade—added much to the public knowledge of the venerable pile and its memories.

Even the historians of Scotland have done but scant justice to the figure made by the Bishops of Glasgow in the affairs of the nation. In this arena the great position of these bishops fitted them to play a part—and they played it—equal to that of the greatest of the lay barons, Douglas, or Huntly, or Hamilton.

It is only within the last sixty years that anything like general and independent research has been turned upon the subject. In 1833 Archibald M'Lellan's able Essay broke fresh ground, but dealt almost exclusively with the building and builders of the fabric of the cathedral; and even in that field the Essay was no more than tentative. Ten years later, in 1843, a new flood of light was thrown on the subject by the Maitland Club's publication of the invaluable Registers of the Bishopric, edited by Cosmo Innes. In 1846 the same Club published, under the editorship of Joseph Robertson, the "*Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*," containing the Registers of the Church of St Mary and St Anne, now the Tron Church, and of the Church of the Blackfriars, etc., making a further substantial addition to our knowledge of the ecclesiastical life of Glasgow in the past. In 1875 the Grampian Club published the "*Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*," edited by Joseph Bain and the Rev. Charles Rogers. These contained the "*Liber Protocolorum*" of the Chapter from 1499 to 1513, and the "*Rental Book*" of the Diocese from 1509 to 1570, and furnished a valuable addition to public knowledge of the interior arrangements and economy of the bishopric. And, to mention only one more of the many valuable state and municipal records which have been made accessible, the publication of "*Extracts from the Burgh Records of Glasgow*" must be acknowledged as throwing useful light on the later history of the cathedral.

Further, since the building was restored, the architects of Scotland have devoted much learned attention to it, as may be seen in the works of Billings, and of Messrs M'Gibbon and Ross, and in papers contributed from time to time by Mr Honeyman and others to the various antiquarian, archæological, and philosophical

societies. A large amount of valuable original research on the cathedral and its adjuncts has of late years found a place in the records of the Glasgow Philosophical Society, the Glasgow Archæological Society, and the Glasgow Regality Club, and in works like Macgeorge's "Old Glasgow," and the "Glasgow Past and Present" of "Senex."

It may not seem too much to conclude, therefore, that the time has come when an attempt may fairly be made to furnish an adequate history and description of the cathedral. As the only cathedral on the mainland of Scotland which was not ruined at the Reformation, the Church of Glasgow possesses a unique interest. It is also acknowledged that the extant records of the See now available are the most complete, and afford the fullest details of ecclesiastical life in the past, of the records of Scottish religious houses.

In the preface to his Essay already referred to, M'Lellan ventured a hope that Glasgow Cathedral should one day have justice done to it in a volume on the scale of Dodsworth's "Salisbury" or Britton's "English Cathedrals." That hope it is the aim of the present work to endeavour to fulfil. In a production covering so wide a field, it cannot be hoped that errors and omissions have been altogether avoided. But these will be judged most leniently by students who have toiled on similar ground, and who know the difficulty of collating contradictory documents and facts.

In the pages which follow, it must be stated here, each writer is responsible only for the matter contained in his own article or articles.

Among those to whom the Editor and Publishers have been

indebted in the production of the work, it is desired to acknowledge particular obligations to the following :—

- To His Grace ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D., and the SECRETARIES AND COUNCIL OF GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, for consent to the reproduction of several of His Grace's articles.
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 - To Mr BARRETT, of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, for kind permission to reproduce old prints and drawings; and to him and his staff for invariable courtesy and valuable assistance in research.
- Of the illustrations in the body of the work, the majority are from photographs specially made by Mr T. N. ARMSTRONG, Shettleston.

G. E.-T.

GLASGOW, *March 1898.*

THE BEGINNINGS OF GLASGOW.



Boss in Blacader's Aisle.

LET Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word." The sentence has formed the motto of Glasgow for several hundred years. Few, however, who hail the expression blazoned on the city arms are aware how absolutely, and from what a remote era, Glasgow has owed its existence to the offices of religion. Before the known history of the British Island began, this neighbourhood appears to have been a great religious centre ; for centuries the growing community which clustered on the sunny hill-side which is now High Street, subsisted solely as a dependency of the religious establishment above ; and for fifteen hundred years every access of dignity attained by the town was owed directly to the cathedral and its bishop. Even in later days, down almost to the beginning of the present century, it was as an ecclesiastical centre that Glasgow figured in the politics of the country. Within recent years, it is true, the growth and fame of the city have been owed chiefly to commerce ; but it would be a grave mistake for her citizens to suppose, on that account, that Glasgow was, either in origin or in her most noted annals, a mercantile place.

It is common to ascribe the foundation of Glasgow to Kentigern, the Cymric missionary saint, who made his church here in the second half of the sixth century. But the importance of the neighbourhood as a religious centre dates from a much earlier time.

To the north of the city, on Craigmaddie Moor, is to be seen



The Auld Wives' Lifts.

a monument which seems worthy of more attention than it has yet received. The Auld Wives' Lifts, as it is called locally, is a cromlech of immense size, the three huge stones of which it is composed weighing perhaps 65 tons apiece.¹ Probably no better example exists of the rude stone altar of Druid times. There is, however, a peculiarity in its situation which makes this cromlech still more remarkable. It stands in the midst of

¹ The uppermost or table stone measures 18 feet long, 11 feet wide, and 7 feet thick.

a vast saucer-shaped depression in the moor, evidently, from its regularity and its level surface, the work of human hands. This, obviously, is a great theatre, which must have accommodated an audience of tens of thousands. In this immense theatre, with its huge central altar, must be recognised a place of worship of no mere local note, but one of the national temples, to which the tribes gathered from far and near at the great festivals of Beltane and Midsummer, Hallowe'en and Yule. Here, there is every reason to believe, stands to be recognised the great pagan cathedral of western Scotland in early times.

Of the worship once carried on around that grey stone altar it is difficult at this time of day to speak. That it was a form of the wide-spread worship of Baal and Ashtaroath there would seem to be considerable grounds to believe. Its monuments still extant are identical with the monuments of ancient Chaldea—the cromlech on Craigmaddie Moor, for instance, being similar to the altars still existing round the summit of Mount Nebo, on which, it may be presumed, Balak offered his sacrifices when he besought Balaam to curse the Israelites in the valley of the Jordan below. To the present hour many customs are practised in Scotland, and others live in popular memory, which exactly coincide with what we know from the Bible, and other sources, of the ancient worship of Baal. There are the practices of divination, for instance, universally observed in rural districts at Hallowe'en.¹ Significantly enough, the following day, November 1st, is to the present hour called Bel's day in the parish of Kilwinning in Ayrshire.² There is the observance of Yule, still kept up on Hogmanay,

¹ See "Hallowe'en," by Robert Burns.

² "Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire," p. 62. London, Elliot Stock, 1896.

December 31, by such curious rites as the first-footing, etc., everywhere prevalent,¹ and on the last night of the year (old style) by the "burning of the clavier," at Burghead in Moray. And there was the ceremony of devoting a victim to leap through flames, practised till a recent period by the young people of Crieff² and Callander³ districts on Beltane Eve, the 1st of May. At Tilliebeltane, the "Baal-fire height," in the Gowrie district of Perthshire, "an enclosure of eight upright staves is made, where it is supposed the *Bel-tein* or Baal-fire was kindled, and a well in the vicinity is held in great veneration. After drinking from this well, the people pass around the temple nine times in a procession. In Ireland Beltein is one of the festival days, and the fires are made early on the tops of the hills, and all the cattle are made to pass through them. This, it is supposed, secures them from contagion and disease for that year."⁴ There was, further, the name itself of Beltane, Bal-tein, or Baal-fire day, given till recently in many districts of Scotland to the 2nd of May, and perpetuated in names like the Beltane Fair at Peebles, and Tilliebeltane, the Perthshire hamlet above referred to.

Such scattered names and customs remain unmistakable monuments to the character of the ancient faith of the country, and point to the conclusion that that faith was a worship of the powers of heaven through a medium of fire.

¹ On December 26, 1583, five persons were appointed to make public repentance in Glasgow "because they kept the superstitious day called Zuil"; and the order was minuted, "The baxters to be enquired at, to whom they baked *Zuil bread*."—"Kirk Session Minutes," *sub die*.

² "The Two Babylons," by Rev. A. Hyslop. Edinburgh, 1862.

³ "Statistical Account of Scotland," 1794, vol. xi. p. 620.

⁴ Eadie's "Biblical Cyclopædia," art. *Baal*.

History itself, in its first dawn upon these islands, throws some light upon the subject.

Pythias, the Carthaginian traveller who wrote about the year 350 B.C., describes certain Celtic islands lying to the north-west of France, which he visited. In one place he found the natives worshipping with shrill music and noisy rites certain earth-goddesses of the nature of Ceres and Proserpine. On another island, near the mouth of the Loire, were women who worshipped a barbarous god with fearful and bloody orgies. And again, on the isle of Ushant, the voyagers came upon a temple where nine virgin priestesses tended an oracle and kept alive a perpetual fire.¹ Martin ("History of France," i. 63) considers "all these rituals to have belonged to convents of Druidesses engaged in the service of Koridwen, the White Fairy, or Moon-goddess, to whose cult the Celtic priestesses were said to be devoted."

There is a reference also by Hecataeus of Abdera, the Thracian traveller and historian, who flourished in the year 300 B.C., which is believed to refer to Stonehenge. Opposite the coast of Gaul, he narrates, in a grassy island the size of Sicily, lay a great forest and a goodly temple, round in shape, and highly enriched, where the priests of the island daily sung hymns and worshipped Apollo.²

Fullest of all, however, in his description of the worship carried on in these Druidic temples, is Cæsar himself. The whole Celtic race, he declares, was given over to religion, and it was the custom for those afflicted with grievous sicknesses, and those engaged in battles and dangerous enterprises, either to sacrifice

¹ See Elton's "Origins of English History," pp. 23-25.

² Diodorus Siculus, ii. 47.

other men as victims, or to vow themselves to the sacrifice. At these oblations the Druids were the ministers. They judged it impossible to appease the mind of the gods for the life of one man except by the offering up of the life of another. Sacrifices of this sort were publicly offered. Some of the tribes were in the habit of weaving wicker images of huge size; the interior of these was filled with living persons, fire was kindled below, and the whole reduced to ashes. Such sacrifices they deemed highly pleasing to the immortal gods. The sacrificed were generally persons taken in the act of murder or theft, but when these proved scarce they even made use of innocent folk. The priests acted both as the judges and teachers of the people. Among other things, they taught that the souls of men did not perish, but passed at death from one body to another, a belief which spurred the warriors to the greatest bravery, and brought them to scorn the terrors of death. To the young, the historian adds, they taught many things besides, concerning the stars and their movement, the universe, and the size of worlds, natural history, and the strength and powers of the immortal gods.¹

Diodorus Siculus, again, who wrote a few years later than Cæsar, and is said to have visited personally every place he described, furnishes some testimony. He relates how the priests of the north practised the arts of divination. They watched the entrails of sacrifices for signs of good or ill fortune to the offerers. They studied, for similar purposes, the flight of birds, the cry of fowls, the look of growing things, the fall of lots, and the omens of storms and comets. And they decided the actions of chiefs

¹ Cæsar, "De Bello Gallico," vi. 13-17.

on great occasions by the contortions of a man slain at a single blow.¹

Pomponius Mela, also, the Spanish geographer, who flourished about the year of the Christian era, among other interesting information regarding the Druids, has left a remark of some significance. The Celtic priests, he declares, taught above all that the soul of man is immortal, and has a life beyond the grave. Accordingly, when they burned their dead, they buried with the ashes the notes of affairs and account of moneys owed to the deceased, in order that in the next world they might exact their dues.²

Three quarters of a century later, Tacitus, who is believed to have visited Scotland personally in the following of Agricola, his father-in-law, and to have been an eye-witness of the great battle at the foot of the Grampians, of which he has left so stately and memorable a description, adds still further to our knowledge. The gods of these northern tribes, he says, were not confined within buildings, nor represented by images in human form, but were of a spiritual nature, beheld only by the spiritual eyes of the worshippers, who devoted to them, and called by their names, certain groves and sacred places.³

The elder Pliny, of the same period, further declares that the Druids worshipped a supreme eternal Being, the creator and ruler of the universe, who might be known only by the mind, and of whom no graven image could be made. He describes the ceremony of cutting down the mistletoe. "*Sacerdos, candida veste cultus, arborem scandit, falce aurea demetit.*" And he adds that the

¹ "Bibliotheca Historica," lib. v. ch. 24-32.

² "De Situ Orbis," iii. 2.

³ "Germania," cap. ix.

people of Britain in his time were greatly given to the arts of divination, practising them with much solemnity and religious ceremonial.¹

The writings of the British tribes themselves do not begin till some centuries later. But Merlin, the bard of the pagan tribes, who was present when that faction was overthrown by the Christian tribes at Arthuret in 573 A.D., has left poetry from which something may be gathered of the spirit of his people. And Taliesin, another of the four great Cymric bards of that time, furnishes some distinct descriptions of Druid ceremonial.²

From remains and scattered references like these, it is possible to form some idea of the manner of men who inhabited the valley of the Clyde in the early centuries of our era, and of the worship which they carried on round their great stone altar on Craigmaddie Moor.

The people themselves were of the Cymric or British race, a Celtic stock equally at war with the Picts, who inhabited the whole country north of the Campsie Hills and the Ochils, and with the Saxon and Norse rovers who presently began to infest the sea-coasts. The Irish Celts, Gaels, or Scots had as yet only effected a settlement in Cantyre and Morven, giving to the country there the name it still bears of Earra-Gaidheal, or Argyle, as they were to give the whole northern part of the island later the name of Scotland.³ The Britons who worshipped on Craigmaddie Moor were of the same race as the tribes which Cæsar encountered at his first landing on the British coast from

¹ "Nat. Hist.," xvi. 44 ; xxx. 1.

² See Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales"; Nash's "Taliesin; the Bards and Druids of Britain," page 15.

³ See Maps, etc., in Skene's "Celtic Scotland."

Gaul. For four centuries and a half they lived under the Roman rule, and when, in the beginning of the fifth century, Constantine finally withdrew the legions, the native Britons had acquired, by example and intermarriage, a large part of the Roman civilisation.

By far the most enduring influence, however, left in the country by its Roman conquerors was the Christian faith. The arts and sciences, law and manners, left in Britain by the legionaries were doomed to extinction, at least throughout the southern and eastern parts of the island, by the conquering march of rude Angles, Jutes, and Saxons; one element alone survived, leavening the new races as they came, and that element was Christianity.

Towards the end of the Roman occupation of Britain, that is, in the latter part of the fourth century, Christianity had become the religion of Rome. It was the time of St Ambrose, St Augustine, and St Jerome, and already Christian missionaries were taking advantage of the protection of the legions to carry the teaching of Christ to the farthest limits of the Roman provinces. The valley of the Clyde was then on the utmost confines of the empire, but just before the wave of Roman conquest fell back, the spot was reached and touched by the new faith.

St Ninian, who effected this significant act, was, so far as is known, the earliest Christian missionary to the country north of the Tweed. He was himself a Briton, born in the north, but like many, apparently, of the better class of his countrymen, he had been educated at Rome. His "Life" is extant, written by St Ailred in the twelfth century, and affords a fairly full account of the acts

and character of the saint.¹ The act by which he is chiefly remembered is the founding of his Candida Casa, or White House, at Whithorn in Galloway, the first stone building in Scotland consecrated to the worship of Christ. This he did, as is mentioned in his "Life,"² in the year of the death of St Martin of Tours, which occurred, so far as can be ascertained, in 397 A.D., and it was apparently one of his first acts on returning to his native country. Like the later missionary saints of Scotland, he made proselytising journeys throughout the country, and his memory is perpetuated in several districts by place-names, such as St Ninians, or St Ringans, as it is popularly termed, near Stirling. On one of these missionary journeys he appears to have made his way to the valley of the Clyde.

In Ailred's "Life," the first miracle attributed to Ninian is the restoration to health and sight of Totail or Tuduvallus, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, and the miracle is stated to have been followed by the conversion of the prince. This conversion by St Ninian was destined, of all the acts of the saint, to have the most far-reaching and tremendous effect. As an immediate consequence it led to the consecration of the ground, or part of it, on which Glasgow Cathedral now stands. It is to the "Life of Kentigern," by Jocelyn, the monk of Furness, that we owe the mention of this act. There it is narrated how Kentigern, journeying from Kernach, or Carnock, in the modern parish of St Ninians, near Stirling, brought the body of one Fregus

¹ Included in Pinkerton's "Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum Scotiae," translated for the Scottish Text Society by the Rev. W. Metcalf, D.D. Re-edited, with a translation, by the late A. P. Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.

² Chapter iii.

“by a straight road along where there was no path, as far as Cathures, which is now called Glasgu,” to “a certain cemetery which had long before been consecrated by St Ninian.” “Therefore the saint,” proceeds Jocelyn, “in the same place took the holy body down from the wain, and after celebrating his obsequies, buried him in that cemetery in which none other man had yet lain.”¹



Inscription above entrance to Blacader's Aisle—"This is the ile of Car Fergus."

As Ninian returned from Rome about the year 397, and died probably in 432 or 437, his consecration of the cemetery at Cathures or Glasgu must have taken place about the beginning of the fifth century.

Circumstances would appear to favour the assumption that the original consecration of a cemetery by St Ninian, and the

¹ "Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern," re-edited and translated by A. P. Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin, being vol. v. of "Historians of Scotland," pp. 51, 52.

According to tradition, the exact spot of the burial is covered by the crypt to the south of the cathedral, built by Archbishop Blacader. It is known generally as Blacader's Aisle, but an inscription over the entrance in Saxon letters states it to be "the ile of Car Fergus," and there is added the carving of a dead man on a car.

subsequent foundation of a church by St Kentigern, at Glasgow, were owed to the fact that the neighbourhood was already a great religious centre. Iona, we know, was another stronghold of the Druid worship (it is still more than half pagan in its traditions and superstitions), and it was there that Kentigern's Irish contemporary, Columba, took pains to establish himself. Similarly, it does not seem altogether gratuitous to assume, Ninian, and Kentigern after him, may have considered it politic to effect a lodgment for the new faith in the near vicinity of the great Druid temple on Craigmaddie Moor. It was important to the early Christian missionaries to have running water at hand for purposes of baptism and ablution. Their stations were most frequently chosen, therefore, by the sides of springs or streams. This was no doubt the other circumstance which influenced the pioneers of Christianity in Strathclyde. On the bank of the Molendinar the settlement had at its command an abundance of the baptismal element, and it lay at the same time within convenient distance of the great national place of worship. Humble enough the first little cell of wattles and clay by the Molendinar must have looked to the people, compared with the great open-air temple and its huge stone altar on the moor above; but the estimation of the two has been strangely reversed by the perspective of time. The great stone altar, "Rock of God," as it was named, lies forsaken and forgotten in its vast theatre of the moors, and no man gives a thought to the gods that were worshipped there; while the little cell of wattles and clay stands now a grey cathedral, representative of the national faith, mother of a great city, and storied with the living memories of eight hundred years.

Somewhat more than a century and a half elapsed from the time when the spot on the bank of the Molendinar was consecrated by Ninian, to the time when it became an active centre of Christian teaching. That hundred and fifty years was a pregnant period in the history of the country.

Already in the year 360, before Ninian's time, the Picts and Scots had made a successful incursion upon Roman Britain. They were driven back into the north by Theodosius, but, taking advantage of the weakened condition of the legions, they swept the country for a second and a third time. In 407, as has been already stated, Constantine finally withdrew the Roman army, and when, two years later, the Picts and Scots again came on, the Emperor Honorius, unable to afford assistance, sent word to the provincial Britons that they must defend themselves. Deeming this an abdication of the imperial authority, the Britons rose, threw off the yoke of the Roman civil government, and taking the defence of the country into their own hand, drove out the barbarians.

From this point the Roman historians throw little further light on the affairs of Britain, and their place is supplied by the native annalists, Gildas, who wrote about the year 560, and Nennius and Bede of the eighth century. The details furnished by these annalists are scanty enough, but they are nevertheless full of interest, and from them the main lines of the country's history can be made out.

When the Romans left the country, the rival races in the island were three—Britons or Cymri, Picts, and Scots. These, however, were soon added to. Guorthigern, leader of the British tribes, finding himself hard pressed by the northern Picts and

Scots, had invited the Saxons of the Continent to help him. These Saxons, nothing loth, came at his invitation, but came to stay. They effected settlements on the east coast in the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, and as they were constantly reinforced, and as they rapidly encroached on the territory of the native Cymri, they soon became more formidable enemies than the tribes they had been invited to fight against.

It is at this point that Nennius begins his "History of the Britons." "*In ea prius,*" he states, "*habitabant quatuor gentes, Scoti, Picti, atque Saxones, et Britones.*"

To enable them to cope with their enemies, the British tribes appear to have adopted from their late Roman rulers the plan of appointing a *regulus*, *guledig*, or general leader; and it is as *guledig* of the Britons between the Roman walls at this period that the historic Arthur comes into view.

The Arthur of Nennius was without doubt the historic original of the Arthur of romance. For the poetic glamour which has been thrown around his name and deeds, the world is indebted to the imagination of that greatest of all the Cymric romancers, Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the ninth century. The events recorded of Arthur are not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle and other Saxon authorities, for a good reason. These authorities deal with the struggle between Britons and Saxons south of the Humber; Arthur's battles, as recorded in the "*Historia Britonum*," took place in the region north of that. "The events recorded of him," says Skene, "are not only consistent with the history of the period, but connected with localities which can be identified, and with most of which his

name is still associated.¹ Nennius mentions twelve great battles fought by Arthur, the localities of which are circumstantially identified by Skene. The first was fought at the mouth of the Glein or Glen, which the historiographer takes to be the river Glen in Ayrshire. The second, third, fourth, and fifth were fought on the Douglas, *in regione Linnuis*, or Lennox, which is taken to be one of the two streams of the name flowing into the west side of Loch Lomond. The sixth took place *super flumen quod vocatur Bassas*, probably, according to the interpreter, about Dunipace, near the Carron. The seventh occurred *in silva Caledonis, id est Cat Coit Celidon* (Battle in Wood of Caledon), somewhere about the upper region of the Tweed. The eighth, *in castello Guinnion*, was fought in Wedale, the valley of the Gala. The ninth, *in urbe Leogis, i.e.*, the city on the Leven, points obviously to Dumbarton, which, in a parliamentary record of David II., in 1367, is named *Castrum Arthuri*. The tenth, *in litore fluminis quod vocatur Treurnit*, Skene allocates to the Links of Forth near Stirling, and quotes in support a sentence from the itinerary of William of Worcester: *Rex Arthurus custodiebat le round table in castro de Styrling, aliter Snowdon West Castle*. Mynydd Agned, the locality of the eleventh great battle, is clearly identified as Edinburgh, opposite which Arthur's Seat still bears the guledig's name. And the twelfth, the great historic victory of Badon Hill, is very obviously located on the Avon, near Linlithgow, where strong fortifications are still to be seen.²

The *Bruts*, there is reason to believe, follow real history in stating that Arthur exercised his power as guledig in giving

¹ "Four Ancient Books of Wales," i. 51.

² *Ibid.*, i. 57, 58.

the districts he had conquered to three of his chief supporters. To Urien, it is stated, he gave the district of Reged or Mureif, now the Lennox; to Llew or Lothus he gave Lodoneis, or Lothian; and to Arawn he gave Yscotlont or Prydyn, the district of Stirling.

Hitherto, in all his battles, Arthur had been victorious, and after his settlement of the country there appears to have been peace for two decades. According to the continuator of Nennius, however, twenty-one years after the battle of Badon Hill, Medraut, the son of Loth, headed an insurrection, and, supported by the hostile Picts, met the guledig in battle at Camlan, now Camelon, near Falkirk. There Arthur fell.¹ There is reason to believe that this last great battle was really between the Christian faction in the country, headed by Arthur, and the pagan faction, headed by Medraut. Loth is mentioned in the older Life of Kentigern as a half-pagan king who persecuted his daughter on account of her Christian predilections. We know, moreover, that such a religious difference actually split up the Cymric tribes about that period, and that it was only settled by the victory of the Christian faction under Rhydderch Hael at Arthuret, near Carlisle, thirty-six years later. These facts appear to support the traditional character of Arthur, embodied most recently in the poetry of Tennyson, as a Christian king who fell supporting his faith in battle against the heathen.

Till the end of last century, when a Goth carried away the stones to build a farm-steading, the scene of Arthur's last battle was commemorated in the neighbourhood of Camelon by a curious

¹ *Gweith Camlan in qua Arthur et Medraut coruere.* The continuation of Nennius dates from the year 977.

monument. This was of hewn stone, bee-hive shape, and of unknown antiquity and purpose, but was named locally Arthur's Oon, or Oven. Possibly it was the tomb of the great Cymric guledig.

As the battle of Badon Hill is proved from a statement by Gildas to have occurred in the year 516, the battle of Camlan and death of Arthur took place some time in 537.

Our knowledge of these persons and circumstances throws light upon the condition of the country at the time when the little Christian colony by the Molendinar first began to make appearance in history. Besides this, however, both persons and circumstances are intimately connected with the actual founder of the church of Glasgow; for Loth, the king set over Lothian by Arthur, and Medraut, leader of the insurrection against which Arthur fell, were respectively the maternal grandfather and uncle of St Kentigern.

ST KENTIGERN.



Boss of Vaulting in Blacader's Aisle.

NEARLY all that is known of the practical founder of the church of Glasgow is owed to the two extant Lives of the saint. Of these the older Life is no more than a fragment, carrying the narrative only to a short time after Kentigern's birth. It was written at request of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1164, and the only known copy is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum.¹ It was printed by Cosmo Innes in an Appendix to the Preface of the "Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow," edited by him for the Maitland Club in 1843. The other and longer Life was written, probably about twenty-five years later, by Jocelyn, a monk of Furness, and exists in two manuscripts, one in the British Museum,² the other in the library of Archbishop Walsh in Dublin.³ It was included by Pinkerton in his "Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum Scotiæ," a collection translated, as already mentioned, by the Rev. W. Metcalf, D.D., for the Scottish Text Society. Both Lives have been re-edited,

¹ Titus A., xix. f. 76-80.

² Cott. Vitell., c. viii. ff. 148-195.

³ V. 3, 4, 16.

with a translation, in the volume by the late A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin.¹

The older Life of the saint is the fuller, so far as it goes, and supplies details of Kentigern's origin which are altogether lacking from the later and more pious work. The narrative begins without preface.

Leudonus, a certain half-pagan king, whose province was named after him Leudonia, had a daughter under a step-mother. This daughter, Thaney by name, was a Christian, and given to brooding on religious things. Her mind especially was filled with thoughts of the Virgin Mary and her glory as the maiden mother of Jesus. So much was she occupied with these thoughts that her heart had no room for mere earthly loves such as engage the attention of girls of her age. Nevertheless she had a lover, Ewen, son of Erwegende, of a most noble stock of the Britons. In the gestes of the histories, says the chronicler, he is called Ewen, son of King Ulien.² Personally he appears to have been highly attractive, and as the son of the king of Reged he was a desirable match. The father of the princess, therefore, encouraged his suit. Thaney herself, however, had her mind set entirely upon heavenly things, and would listen to no talk of an earthly love. As she persisted in refusing the advances of Ewen,

¹ "Historians of Scotland," vol. v.

² Owen, son of Urien, as the name properly runs, was a celebrated personage of those times. One of the Knights of the Round Table, King of Reged, cousin to Sir Gawain, and nephew to King Arthur himself, he appears to have succeeded Arthur as the champion of the Cymric tribes against the encroaching Angles. He slew Ida, the first king of the Angles of Bernicia, but was himself slain by an assassin. His deeds are sung by the British bards Taliesin and Llywarch Hen, as well as in the Welsh historical Triads. A fragment of a romance, having Owen for its hero, appears to survive in the ballad of "Kemp Owyne." See Scott's "Border Minstrelsy;" "Merlin, or the Early History of King Arthur" (Early English Text Society); Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales;" and Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings," i. 4.

her father Leudonus at last wrathfully repudiated her as his daughter, and gave her to the keeping of a certain swineherd. Even in this shameful position she continued to resist her lover's wooing, so that at length he was driven utterly to despair. Finding his hopes thus desperate, the young prince at last lay in wait for the girl, and took by force what he could not gain by affection.

When, after a time, the condition of Thaney became publicly known, Leudonus ordered her to undergo the punishment customary among the pagan Britons for her offence. She was accordingly, in the presence of thousands of spectators, carried to the top of a high hill named Kepduf, near her father's capital, and there cast over a precipice. In her extremity, we are told, she prayed to the Virgin Mary, once in like condition to her own, and, as an answer to her prayer, she reached the foot of the precipice unhurt. By the pagan people about her this escape was ascribed to magic art, and the king, persuaded of the truth of their reasoning, ordered her to be destroyed in another way. She was carried, therefore, to the shore, about three miles from Kepduf, and there, at the mouth of a river called the Aberlessie, was placed in a coracle, carried out into deep water beyond the Isle of May, and cast adrift.

Shortly afterwards her father, pursuing the swineherd with intent to slay him, was turned upon by the poor man, pierced through with a javelin, and slain.

Meanwhile the little boat of skins, driven by wind and tide, made its way for some thirty miles up the firth, and when morning dawned was safely drifted ashore on the sand at Collenros. Here, in the dim light, wet, cold, and despairing, the

princess lay on the beach, aware that her time had almost come, and seeing no help at hand. Close by her, however, unnoticed, was a little heap of ashes left by some shepherds on the day before, and just then a puff of wind blew them into flame. Beside the fire thus made, in the grey morning light, and amid these wild and lonely shores, she gave birth to a son. A little later, the herdsmen returning, found her with her child, and carried the tidings to Servanus, who at that morning hour was teaching the Christian law to his clerks at his cell in the neighbourhood. The holy man, having been already warned by a vision in the night, was expecting some such message. When he heard it, therefore, he rose up, exclaiming: "Thanks be to God, for he shall be my dear one!"

At this point the fragment of the older Life abruptly ends. Curiously, however, the narrative is taken up just here by the later and less circumstantial account. To a large extent the Life by Jocelyn has apparently been written to counteract the effect of the earlier work, and so far as it deals with Kentigern's birth, it tries to gloss over and spiritualise the circumstances.

It begins by narrating only very briefly that a certain princess, being found with child, was by her father's command carried to the top of a very high hill called Dulpelder, and cast over the edge. Saved from death in this way by the intervention of heaven, she was committed to an open boat, which during the night drifted her to Culenros. Here occurs the incident of the shepherds' fire, followed by the birth of the child. When the shepherds brought mother and child to Servanus, the account goes on, he "exclaimed in the language of the

country '*Mochöhe! mochohe!*' which in Latin means '*Care mi! care mi!*'"¹

After certain days Servanus baptized both mother and child, the mother being named in this account Taneu, and the child Kyentyern. The name of the mother is spelt variously, Taneu, Thaney, Thenewe, etc., and is perpetuated in the name of one of the city churches of Glasgow, St Enoch's being merely a corruption of St Theneu's.² Kentigern, *Cwn Tyern*, is Cymric for "head-lord," and Mungo is a combination of the Cymric *Mwyn*, "gentle," and *Gu* or *U*, "dear." The same final epithet is seen in the original spelling of Glasgu.

Jocelyn goes on to narrate how the boy was schooled by Servanus, and grew up a youth of gentle heart and sharp, strong intellect, possessing a high sweet voice. He became, moreover, the dearest pupil of his old master, and several incidents are recorded in which the jealous plots of his fellow-students are defeated by the favour of heaven and his own quick wit. In course of time, however, having grown to man's estate, Kentigern was moved to depart. Part of his motive was the jealousy of his fellows, part fear of the effect upon himself of the popular favour which he had gained. At the same time he was aware that Servanus would never willingly let him go. So he fled secretly. His route lay westwards, up the left bank of the Forth, and he appears to have crossed that river, then a tidal stream to a higher point than it is to-day, at low water. On discovering his flight, Servanus

¹ Gaelic, *Mo chaoimh! mo chaoimh!* "My dear! my dear!"

² The original Chapel of St Theneu, on this spot, was said to have been erected over the tomb of Kentigern's mother. Close by rose St Theneu's Well, and a little to the westward flowed St Theneu's Burn. (See "Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times," p. 85.) The Trongate of Glasgow, as leading to St Thenaw's Chapel, was anciently known as St Thenaw's Gate.—"Orig. Par. Scot," i. 5.

pursued, and an affecting scene is described when he came up with his disciple. When he reached the crossing-place, the tide had risen and flowed impassable between them.¹ Servanus stood on the bank and implored Kentigern to return, calling him his dearest son and many other tender names. If his boy would but come back, the old man declared, he would take the place of son instead of father to him, and would listen with patience to his teaching. Kentigern, however, begged him with tears to turn back and leave him, and at last, mournfully, but with mutual blessings, they bade farewell, and turning the one from the other, "never looked on each other's face again in this world."

Kentigern made his way to Kernach, the modern Carnock, near Stirling. There he arrived at the door of a godly man named Fregus or Fergus, who lay at that time sick to death. This Fergus had already heard of the sanctity of his visitor, and he bade him welcome with holy joy. "Dispose of my house and my life to-day," he said, "and to-morrow attend to my burial as it pleaseth thy providence, the Lord inspiring thee." By the advice of Kentigern, Fergus made a gift of all his goods to the poor, and presently, while his visitor was deep in prayer, he quietly passed away.

Next day, according to Jocelyn, Kentigern yoked two untamed bulls to the dead man's funeral car, and enjoined them to carry the burden to the place which the Lord had provided for it. The bulls brought it to Cathures, which is now

¹ In describing this incident Jocelyn, apparently transcribing from an older account, mistakes the words *mallena* and *ledo*, "spring" and "neap" tides, for the names of two rivers, and has thus led to some confusion in the topography of later writers.

called Glasgu, and there Kentigern buried Fergus in the cemetery which had long before been consecrated by St Ninian.¹

Either the name and fame of Kentigern had gone before him, or the incident of Fergus's burial attracted attention, for almost forthwith, it would appear, the Cymric king and clergy of the district approached him and pressed him to become their bishop. After some difficulty their entreaties prevailed. According to Jocelyn, Kentigern was duly enthroned, and was consecrated by a bishop brought over from Ireland for the purpose. The author of the *Life*, as a monk of the Roman Church, is at pains to explain that though Kentigern was not consecrated, as the Roman canons require, by three bishops, it was merely owing to the rudeness and remoteness of these islands, by reason of which the usage had become corrupted. He hastens, however, to assure the reader that Kentigern himself was conscious of this violation of the canons, and that he took every possible means to correct it.

"He established his Cathedral seat," proceeds Jocelyn, "in a town called Glesgu, which is, interpreted, *the dear family*, where he united to himself a famous and God-beloved family of servants of God, who practised abstinence, and who lived after the fashion of the primitive church under the apostles, without private property, in holy discipline and divine service."

An account is furnished of the personal daily life of Kentigern. This was ascetic to extreme. His long fasts were broken only by refreshments of the simplest fare—bread and milk, cheese, butter, and condiments. When on a journey, or when dining with the

¹ "Cathures" is obviously the Cymric *Caer* or *Cathair*, a town; and here again, it is possible, Jocelyn, misreading from an older *Life*, has written, "Cathures, now called Glasgu," instead of simply "the *caer*, or town of Glasgu."

king, he might temper the rigour of his abstinence, but to atone for such transgression, he afterwards invariably subjected himself to greater fasts. For dress we are told he wore next his skin



Map of the Molendinar in its Course through Glasgow.

The earliest extant map of the Molendinar is a plan prepared in 1764 as part of the evidence in a law plea between the Magistrates of Glasgow and the owners of a saw-mill. It is printed in Dr Gordon's "Glasghu Facies," Div. iii., but includes only the lower part of the stream's course. The first general plan of the city ever published was probably one engraved in 1778 from a survey by Mr John M'Arthur. The plan here reproduced appeared in the *Glasgow Magazine* of 1783, and was reproduced in Stewart's "Views and Notices of Old Glasgow." It appears to be practically a facsimile of M'Arthur's plan.

a shirt of the roughest horse-hair. Over this was a garment of the skin of goats. Then came a fisherman's cowl, and above all these, to signify purity, he wore a white alb and stole. His bed was a stone hollowed like a monument, with a stone for a pillow.

Here he rather tasted than took sleep, rising in the night-time for many prayers. At second cock-crowing he finally left his bed, and whatever might be the weather, stripped and plunged into the cold water of the Molendinar, where, with eyes and hands lifted to heaven, he stood till he had chanted the entire Psalter. He sat himself afterwards, to dry his limbs, "on the brow of a hill called Gulath, by the waterside near his own home."¹

The daily life of Kentigern was devoted to converting the people of the region about him to the faith of Christ, and to a right way of living. In this effort he appears to have had considerable success. It is evident, however, that he was not without opposition, and at last matters came to a crisis. Apparently the Christian king or chief who had invited Kentigern to settle on the spot was dead, and had been succeeded by one whose sympathies were with the older pagan faith. A time of scarcity brought the difference to a head. It would appear as if the little Christian community had been in the habit of receiving supplies from the royal granaries. On the

¹ Gulath or Wleth, translated from the Cymric, is the Dew-hill or Dow Hill. A chapel was in later days built on the spot. "The chapel of St Mungo without the walls, called also Little St Mungo's Kirk, was built and endowed in the year 1500 by David Cunningham, archdeacon of Argyll, and provost of the collegiate church of Hamilton. It stood on the Dow Hill, on the north side of the Gallowgate, on the eastern bank of the Molendinar, immediately without the Port. Certain trees which grew there were called St Mungo's trees; a well beside it had the name of St Mungo's Well; a way which led to it still retains the name of St Mungo's Road. It was surrounded by a churchyard."—"Origines Parochiales," i. p. 6. "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," pp. 501, 502.

The site of the churchyard was in 1754 feued by the authorities to Robert Tennent, gardener and vintner, for the erection of the Saracen's Head Inn. St Mungo's Well remained in the inn courtyard.—"Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times," pp. 76, 77.

St Mungo's Well still exists under the edge of the pavement in front of the old Saracen's Head, and it was seen there in good order when the flagstones were lifted a few years ago. Behind the old inn, under what is now the yard of a livery stable, a vault of considerable size was lately discovered, doubtless the crypt of Little St Mungo's Kirk.

arrival of scarcity, however, Morken, or Morgan, the petty king, refused to furnish grain to the Christians. Thereupon, it is stated, by a miraculous rising of the Clyde, the royal stores were transferred bodily to the neighbourhood of the church. It is difficult to make out the exact historic occurrence which lies here behind the narrative of the pious Jocelyn. Possibly the legend embodies some early strife about tithes. But whatever the actual bearings of the incident, it seems to have been followed by undisguised hostility on the part of the prince, and before that hostility Kentigern presently found it necessary to flee.

Finding himself a fugitive for the second time, he betook himself southwards, to visit the holy bishop David, at that time settled in the district of Menevia. On his journey, when he reached Carlisle, he was moved, by reports of the heathen state of the neighbouring people, to pause and turn aside, and at a spot among the hills he baptized many of the inhabitants, and by way of commemoration set up a cross. The place on this account became known as Crossfell. Reaching St David's at length, he received a warm welcome from the good bishop. There presently the fame of his sanctity became greatly spread abroad, and Cathwallain, the Cymric king of that country, offered him a settlement anywhere within his dominions. Kentigern, accordingly, made careful examination of the countryside for a favourable site, and at last founded a church at Llanelwy, now known, from the name of his disciple, as St Asaph's.

The theory has been put forth¹ that Kentigern and his followers carried the name of their first home with them in their

¹ Forbes's "St Kentigern," p. 351.

migration, and out of affection for their older settlement in the north, called the new district in Wales to which they removed by the name of Strathelwyd, which it still bears. The theory, however, wants evidence to prove it.

Jocelyn declares that Kentigern made no fewer than seven visits to Rome about this period, in order to correct the usages of the British Church by the usages of Rome. The fact, however, of his having paid such visits at all has been questioned, and it remains matter of high dispute whether any such close connection as this would imply existed between the early Cymric Church and the south.¹

Meanwhile, during Kentigern's absence from Glasgow, the people of that neighbourhood relapsed into paganism, and, at the same time, it is to be gathered, the kingdom fell into confusion. Reading between the lines, it is evident that the strife of the period was between the influences of the old Druidism and the newer Christianity. At first, apparently, to judge from the flight of Kentigern, the Druid faction carried all before it, and the old victories of Arthur, thirty years before, seemed likely to be reversed. Presently, however, there arose a new king, Rhydderch, son of Tothail,² who had been baptized in Ireland, and who turned the tide of fortune in favour of Christianity. The strife culminated in a great battle, fought in the year 573³ at Ardderyd, now Arthuret, near Carlisle. In this encounter the pagan faction was commanded by Gwendolew, and the Christian by Rhydderch Hael.

¹ The point is discussed with much learning by the Bishop of Brechin in his notes ZZ and AAA to the "Life of Kentigern." See also Haddan and Stubbs, vol. i. to p. 120; vol. ii. to p. 5.

² Adamnan, "Life of St Columba."

³ "Annales Cambriæ."

A secondary interest belongs to the battle from the fact that upon that occasion the careers were directly opposed of two such famous persons as Merlin and Kentigern. Merlin, a prince and chief bard of the Druid tribes, was himself present in the battle, and though Kentigern was not personally there, his interests, and the interests of the Christian cause in North Britain to which he was attached, were not less vitally involved.

The fortunes of the day were with Rhydderch Hael. Gwendolew, the pagan leader, was slain in the battle, and among its most immediate issues were the flight of Merlin to the wilds of the Caledonian Forest about the springs of Ettrick and Tweed, and the recall of Kentigern by the victorious Rhydderch to resume his northern charge.

The names of the culminating battle and of those engaged in it are not mentioned in Kentigern's Life. For these the historian has to rely upon the Cymric annalists. But the success of the Christian faction is stated by Jocelyn, with the invitation to Kentigern to return as its chief consequence.

Committing his new church in Wales to the charge of his disciple, the holy Asaph, Kentigern betook himself northwards.

The Cambrian, or northern Cymric kingdom, as has been already stated, extended as far southwards as the Derwent, and shortly after he had entered it, apparently, the saint was met by Rhydderch, with a great multitude of people. By them he was enthusiastically welcomed, and they conveyed him as far as Hodelm, or Hoddam, north of the Solway. Possibly his old seat at Glasgu was too near the headquarters of Druidism on

Craigmaddie Moor, to be a safe residence while the pagan tribes were still chafing under their late defeat. At anyrate, Kentigern remained at Hoddam for a time, building a church and temporarily establishing his see. Here, according to Jocelyn, Rhydderch did him homage, and submitted the civil power to him as suzerain, thus fulfilling the name given to him by Servanus, of *Cwn Tyern*, or "head-lord."

Eight years later Kentigern returned to Glasgu, which from that time forth remained his home.

From Glasgu he is stated to have made missionary journeys throughout Albania (the country beyond the Forth), and to have sent missionaries to the Orkneys, Norway, and Iceland. Of his own journeyings in the north there exists proof in the fact that dedications to Kentigern still exist in the Dee valley; but the statement as to his sending envoys to other countries may be doubted. Dicicul, the Irish geographer of the ninth century, whose account is older and more reliable than Jocelyn's writing, states that the early Christian missionaries to Iceland were all anchorites of the Irish Church.

Not the least interesting feature of the life of Kentigern is the number and variety of miracles attributed to him, and the special intervention of heaven again and again on his behalf. Sinners whom he condemns meet with sudden death at the hands of Providence. Kings who oppress him are stricken with gout, blindness, and madness. People are cured by his shadow passing over them. And his clothes, it is narrated, were never wet by rain. Among other miracles wrought by his prayers, he induced heaven to give an heir to Rhydderch the king, whose wife Languoreth had previously been childless. But his most

famous supernatural performances were three, which, according to tradition, are perpetuated in the arms of the city of Glasgow at the present day.

Of these miracles, the first two occurred while Kentigern was still a student at the cell of Servanus. The aged saint, it appears, had among other animal pets a tame robin. This bird was one day killed by the other lads, and they, to screen themselves, laid the blame on Kentigern. He, however, taking the bird, made over it the sign of the cross, and forthwith it was restored to life.

On another occasion the same youths, out of jealousy, extinguished the fire which Kentigern had been appointed to keep. The latter then took a green hazel bough, and, blessing it and breathing on it, produced the flame required.

The third miracle belongs to the later life of the saint, when he had been restored to his church at Glasgu.

Queen Languoreth,¹ it appears, had cast amorous eyes on a certain youth, a soldier at her husband's court, who was of comely looks. The two, by reason of long immunity, became foolhardy in their sinful relationship, and at last Languoreth went so far as to bestow on her lover a ring which had been given her by the king. With equal infatuation the young man placed it on his finger, and the sight of the well-known jewel thus displayed at once confirmed the suspicion and whisperings of the Court. At last the scandal reached the ear of Rhydderch himself, and when he refused to listen to his wife's dishonour, his own ring was pointed out to him on the young man's finger. By

¹ In the life of Kentigern in the Aberdeen Breviary, the heroine of the story is termed the Queen of Cadzow.

this apparently he was convinced, and he prepared to bring guilt home to Languoreth. He appointed a day of hunting, and on the field, having given each courtier his station, he took his wife's lover with himself. At noon they rested from the heat on the bank of the Clyde. There the young soldier, suspecting no danger, fell asleep, and the king, waiting his opportunity, drew the ring from his finger and threw it into the river.

Presently, as the huntsmen returned home, Languoreth came forth from her bower to meet her lord. To her surprise and confusion, however, her kisses were met by a storm of reproaches as fierce as they were unexpected. Rhydderch accused her of unfaithfulness, and on her denying his charge, demanded to see the ring he had given her. It was, she said, laid up in a casket in her chamber, and, hastening thither, she sent a messenger hot haste to her lover for the jewel. On the discovery that he had lost it, the latter, terrified for the consequences of his folly, fled from the Court. Languoreth was then forced to tell Rhydderch that she had lost his gift, whereupon, with many bitter reproaches, he threw her into prison, giving her only three days to produce the ring.¹ In her distress the queen at last sent a messenger to Kentigern confessing her whole misfortune, and beseeching his interposition with the king. The saint, when he heard the story, told the messenger to go with a hook to the Clyde, and to bring him straightway the first fish he should catch. The man, says Jocelyn, obeyed, and presently brought back a large salmon. On this being gutted the lost ring appeared, and Kentigern

¹ An account of the ordeal by hot iron, to which Languoreth had become liable, to prove her innocence, may be read in the old British romance of "Sir Tristrem," edited by Scott in 1804, and by Mr G. P. McNeill in 1886. See "Early Scottish Poetry," Abbotsford Series, p. 46.

forthwith sent it by the messenger to Languoreth, admonishing her at the same time to lead a better life. From that time forth, the narrative adds, she remained a faithful wife and queen.¹

The most interesting episode of Kentigern's latter days was the visit paid to him at Glasgu by St Columba. Closely similar in life-history, the two old missionary saints, the one of the Gaelic, the other of the Cymric branch of the Celtic race, had been the chief means of Christianising the west of Scotland. While Columba with his colony of Irish Scots had taken possession of the pagan headquarters at Iona, and spread the new faith throughout the whole region of the western Picts, Kentigern with his "family" had established themselves in the religious centre of the pagan Cymri, and made the new belief triumph throughout the entire lowland kingdom of Strathclyde. The meeting of the two men took place, according to Jocelyn, "when the hair of Kentigern was white," and their coming together, he adds, simply, was an occasion of great joy.²

Among the last deeds recorded of Kentigern is the setting up of two crosses, one in the cemetery of his own church at Glasgu, and another at Lothwerverd or Locherwort, now Borthwick, in Midlothian.³ Both of these crosses were said to have been

¹ The bell which appears on the arms of the bishops and city of Glasgow is likewise said by tradition to be the bell of Kentigern, which, according to Jocelyn, was given by the Pope to Kentigern on the last visit of the latter to Rome. It remains open to question, however, whether the device on the seal of Glasgow is taken from these incidents in the life of Kentigern. For a discussion of the merits of the question, see the article on the "Episcopal Seals," by Archbishop Eyre, in the present volume.

² At that visit, Jocelyn states, the Gaelic missionary gave Kentigern a crozier, "a staff of plain wood." According to Fordoun, in the beginning of the fifteenth century this staff was still preserved in the Church of St Wilfrid at Ripon.—"Scotichronicon," iii. 30.

³ The churches of Borthwick, Penicuik, and Currie were dedicated to the saint, and in the manse garden at Borthwick is a spring still known as St Mungo's Well.

erected by aid of miracles, and miracles were reputed to have been wrought by them. "Many maniacs," says Jocelyn, "and those vexed with unclean spirits, are used to be tied of a Sunday night to that cross, and in the morning they are found restored, freed, and cleansed, though oftentimes they are found dead, or at the point of death."

By these early missionaries the setting up of crosses was evidently a symbolic ceremonial, of the same nature as the hoisting of a flag at the present day, to indicate that a new territory has been taken possession of.

At length, after a long life of effort and usefulness, Kentigern began to be frail. His chronicler narrates how, "overcome by excessive old age, and perceiving from many cracks in it, that the ruin of his earthly house was imminent," the saint tied up his chin with a bandage, and prepared for his end. His last days he employed in exhorting his disciples upon such points as the maintenance of love and peace, the grace of hospitality, and the need of continuing instant in prayer and holy study. By these words his followers were greatly moved. Jocelyn describes a very beautiful and touching scene—the group of those whom he had taught and led gathered in tears about the old man, imploring that they may not be left behind, but may be permitted to die with him. "And behold, while the morning day-star, the messenger of the dawn, the herald of the light of day, tearing in sunder the pall of the darkness of night, shone forth with flaming rays, an angel of the Lord appeared with unspeakable splendour, and the glory of God shone around him. And for fear of him the guardians of the holy bishop were exceedingly astonished and amazed, being but earthly vessels, and, unable to

bear the weight of so great glory, became as dead men. But the holy old man, comforted by the vision and visit of the angel, and, as it were, forgetting his age and infirmity, being made strong, experienced some foretastes of the blessedness now near at hand, and held close converse with the angel, as with his closest and dearest friend."

By the heavenly visitant Kentigern was told to cause a warm bath to be prepared, upon entering which he should pass away without pain. He was also told that such of his disciples as desired to follow him, if they stepped into the bath before the water cooled, would likewise quietly pass away. On the morrow, accordingly, the thing was done. It was the octave of Epiphany, the day on which Kentigern had been wont every year to baptize the multitude. As the dawn came in, "the holy man, borne by their hands, entered a vessel of hot water which he had first blessed with the sign of salvation, and, a circle of the brethren standing round him, waited the event. And when the saint had been some little time in the water, after lifting his hands and his eyes to heaven, and bowing his head as if sinking into a calm sleep, he yielded up his spirit."

Kentigern's disciples, the narrative goes on to state, "seeing what was taking place, lifted the holy body out of the bath, and eagerly strove with each other to enter the water; and so, one by one, before the water cooled, they slept in the Lord in great peace, and having tasted death along with their holy bishop, they entered with him into the mansions of heaven."

The saint was buried beneath a stone on the right side of the altar in his church, and the brethren who had followed him were interred in the cemetery in the order in which they had



Tomb of St Kentigern as it now appears in the Cathedral Lower Church.

died. The chronicle ends with a statement that in the same year King Rhydderch died, as well as another chief called Morthec, and that they also were buried at Glasgu. Further, in that burial-ground, "as the inhabitants and countrymen assert, 665 saints rest; also all the great men of that region for a long time have been in the custom of being buried there."

Such is the life and death of Kentigern as told by his monkish biographers. Outside evidence goes to prove that, in its main lines, it may be taken as historical. Jocelyn, it is true, takes for granted the existence of an organisation in the early Cymric Church similar to that of Rome. He refers to bishops, archdeacons, and other dignitaries, as well as to church ceremonies and observances—an apparatus the existence of which in remote Strathclyde at that early period remains doubtful.¹ Such a setting, however, is only what might be expected from the circumstances of the twelfth century biographer. The Life also, as has been stated above, attributes many miracles and special providential favours to the intervention of the holy man. These, as they exist in all early Christian annals and biographies, have their recognised appraisal at the hands of the historian, and neither support nor invalidate the other parts of the narrative. For the rest, the setting of the saint's birth proves circumstantial enough. Kepduf or Dulpelder, from which Thenew was thrown, is easily identified in Traprain Law, formerly known as Dulpender, a spur of the Lammermuirs in Haddingtonshire; while Aberlessie,

¹ The term bishop, or overseer, appears to have had a somewhat narrower meaning to our earlier historians than it possesses now. Thus Nennius records of St Patrick that he founded in Ireland 365 churches, and ordained 365 and more bishops! "*Scipsit abegectoria 365, et eo amplius numero. Ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundavit 365. Ordinavit episcopos eodem numero 365 et eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat.*"—"Historia Britonum," cap. 60.

to which she was afterwards carried, may be traced, through the intermediate form of Aberlossie, to the modern Aberlady, seven miles from Traprain. Culenros is of course the present Culross, and the Frisican shore on which Jocelyn makes it to be situated is the shore of the Firth of Forth, which Nennius calls the Frisican Sea. The Life, further, is substantially supported by the ancient Welsh Triads and other documents. In the Welsh Pedigrees of the Saints of Britain, Kentigern is named Kyndeyrn Garthwys, son of Ywein, son of Urien Reged, son of Cynfarch, etc., and of Dwynwen, daughter of Laddeu Llueddos.¹

Jocelyn states that Kentigern was 185 years old when he died. Obviously the statement is made in order to render possible the legend of Kentigern's early connection with Servanus, who was said to have been ordained by Palladius, the first Roman missionary to the northern Picts, who, according to Bede, was sent north by Celestinus, the Roman Pontiff, in 431.² The chronology of Kentigern's actual career is arranged with much conclusiveness by Skene, who is followed by the later editor of the Life.

"The regulating date in Kentigern's life was that of the battle of Arderydd. That battle, fought in 573, established

¹ "Myvyrian Archæology," vol. ii. p. 34.

² According to the Aberdeen Breviary (July 1) there were two Christian missionaries of the name of Servanus. While the earlier, the disciple of Palladius, slew a dragon at Dunning, and fought with the devil in his hermitage at Dysart, the later, an Israelite, in the time of Adamnan (about 700 A.D.), wrought miracles at Portmoak. The former of these is referred to in Fordoun's "Scotichronicon," the latter is the subject of the Life in the "Chronicle of the Picts and Scots." In either case a connection with Kentigern remains impossible. The suggestion of the somewhat virulent M'Lauchlan ("Early Scottish Church," p. 128) may perhaps be accepted—that the whole narrative of Kentigern's relationship with Servanus is to be accounted for as the effort of a later age to include Kentigern in the line of apostolic succession.

Rhydderch Hael on the throne, and he then recalled Kentigern from Wales. The 'Annales Cambriæ' place Kentigern's death in 612, other authorities in 601. He died on 13th January, and Jocelyn says on Sunday. Now Sunday fell on the 13th January in the years 603 and 614. The former is the most probable year, and the Aberdeen Breviary, in the life of St Baldred, says he died on 13th January 503, by which 603 is probably meant. Jocelyn says he lived 185 years. If you deduct the 100 you will bring out a chronology very consistent with other events. Thus—

" $603 - 85 = 518$, the probable date of his birth.

"He was 25 when made Bishop of Glasgow, therefore

" $518 + 25 = 543$, gives the date of the foundation of Glasgow.

"He begins to overturn images, build churches, dedicate those built, define parishes, ordain clergy, and after some time Morcant or Morken becomes king, and expels him. Allow ten years for this work.

" $543 + 10 = 553$, date of expulsion to Wales, where he founds Llanelwy.

"From 553 to 573 he is in Wales. 573 is the date of the battle of Arderlydd, and of the recall of Kentigern. He is eight years bishop at Hoddelm.

" $573 + 8 = 581$, gives the return to Glasgow.

"St Kentigern converts Picts of Galloway, also seeks Albania, *i.e.*, north-east lowlands, and founds churches and monasteries; meets St Columba at the Molendinar before 597, when Columba died. He goes seven times to Rome in time of Pope Gregory (590-604). In 603 he dies. Rhydderch dies in the same year.

"Now 603 is the year of the battle of Degsastan, when,

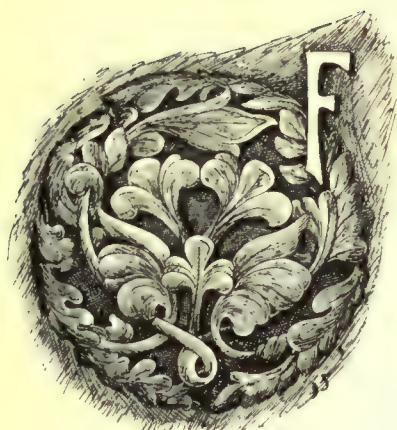
according to Bede, the great invasion of Northumbria (the Anglian kingdom) by Aidan (king of the Irish Scots of Cantyre) took place. Surely if Rhydderch were alive he would have headed the invasion, or at least have been mentioned. But if he had died in that year, and been succeeded by a young son, it is intelligible that the veteran warrior Aidan should have headed the expedition.”¹

¹ Preface to Bishop Forbes's "Lives of Ninian and Kentigern." "Celtic Scotland," ii. 195, 196.



St Mungo's Well as it now appears in the Cathedral Lower Church.

THE DARK AGES.



Boss of Vaulting in Lower Church.

FOR five hundred years after the death of Kentigern, the history of the church which the saint had founded at Glasgow remains obscure. Of successors to the actual authority of Kentigern, as Christian bishop or minister to the Britons of Strathclyde, nothing is clearly known. In some sketches of the see it is stated that Kentigern was succeeded by St Baldred.¹ The statement, however, rests entirely upon the misconstruing of a reference in the Aberdeen Breviary. There, under St Baldred's Day, in March, it is narrated that "when St Kentigern, after various and many miracles, had died at Glasgow, and been carried to heaven in a host of singing angels, there flourished the blessed Baldred, who had been a suffragan of the blessed Kentigern himself while Kentigern lived in the world. Giving up vain care and worldly pomp, he betook him to remote and desert places and islands of the sea. In particular, he affected the Bass, and led there a contemplative life." The Breviary states further that Baldred held from Kentigern the parochial

¹ Maclellan, p. 29; Pagan, p. 5.

charge of Aldham, Cunningham, and Preston. The continuator of Fordoun follows this account, stating that Baldred was suffragan to Kentigern, and adding a tradition of the miraculous triplication of his body after death, to satisfy the respective demands of Haldhame, Tynninghame, and Lyntoun for its possession.¹ But neither the Breviary nor the "Scotichronicon" states that Baldred succeeded Kentigern at Glasgow, or held any authority over that place. The mention of Cunningham in the Breviary is most likely a mistake for Tynningham, with which Baldred is indisputably identified. He may, indeed, have been a Briton of Strathclyde, for, according to the continuator of Nennius, the Angles of the east coast owed their Christianity first to Cymric missionaries;² but he had no later connection with the west. In tradition he is remembered as St Baldred of the Bass, and in reality he appears to have been an anchorite of the Anglic see of Lindisfarne. Simeon of Durham, in his "Historia Regum," mentions that Balthere died at Tynningham in 756. He lived, therefore, a century and a half after the time of Kentigern.

Almost as vague is the connection of another name with the see and seat of St Mungo. In the records of a council held at Rome by Pope Gregory II. in 721, the canons are subscribed by "Sedulius, bishop of Britain, of the race of the Scots."³ It has therefore been concluded that the Strathclyde Britons had received a bishop of the Gaelic or Scottish race from Ireland, and his presence at Rome has been taken to prove a connection of the church of Strathclyde with the Papal See in the eighth century. The entire reference, however, remains so meagre that

¹ "Scotichronicon," iii. 29.

² See *infra*, p. 46.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," vol. ii. p. 7.

little can be made of it. The description of Sedulius as *episcopus Britanniae* would seem a somewhat slight foundation for the supposition that the person named was a successor of Kentigern at Glasgow. Britannia, as a geographical term, is used by the ancient writers to describe a wider region than the mere kingdom of Strathclyde.¹ Had Sedulius been an occupant of the chair of Kentigern, he was more likely to have been termed *episcopus Britonum*, "bishop of the Britons." As a parallel instance, the fact may be cited that Nennius, writing in the eighth century, calls his work, not "*Historia Britanniae*," but "*Historia Britonum*." Again, there may be taken into account the circumstance that, shortly before Sedulius subscribed the canons of Pope Gregory's council at Rome, the Britons of Strathclyde had been at war with the Scots of Dalriada. In the year 711 they had been defeated by the Scots in a great battle at Loirg-Ecclet, probably Largs; and in 717 they had been defeated again at a spot called Minvirce.² It seems unlikely that within four years of the latter battle the Strathclyde Britons should have peaceably accepted a bishop from the race of their enemies. No definite evidence, however, exists to decide the question, and it remains just possible that Sedulius was one of the "many bishops" whom tradition at a later day recorded as having succeeded St Kentigern at Glasgow.³

¹ *Denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae, quae in quatuor linguas, id est, Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum, divisae sunt, in ditione accepit.*—Bede, "*Hist. Eccles.*," lib. iii. cap. vi.

² "*Annales Tighearnae*," *sub anno*.

³ *Notitia* of David in 1121, prefixed to "*Reg. Epus. Glasg.*" In a note to the record of the signature of Sedulius, Haddan and Stubbs point out that his companion at the council—*Fergusus episcopus Scotiae Pictus*—was evidently a dioceseless bishop, and suggest that Sedulius might likewise be no more than titular.

In the eleventh century, and beginning of the twelfth, occur three other names. About the time when the church of Glasgow was restored as a regular bishopric by David, Prince of Cumbria, in 1115, a claim was made by the Archbishop of York that Glasgow was suffragan to that see. In support of this claim York put forward three names, Magsuen, John, and Michael, as the names of former bishops of Cumbria, who, at the respective dates of 1057, 1059, and 1109, had been acknowledged suffragans of York.¹

It is possible that the three names given may represent bishops actually consecrated by York; but their authenticity has been almost unanimously questioned by historians, and they have been treated as interpolations, "mustered in suspicious circumstances, at anyrate without sufficient evidence, for the purpose of supporting a disputed claim."² Strathclyde, indeed, was once for a time subject to the Angles of Northumbria, and that period of subjection may have given occasion for founding some title of ecclesiastical suzerainty on the part of York. But, as a matter of fact, the pretensions of York to be a metropolitan see at all were not recognised in 1115.³ Stronger presumptive evidence still, however, is the circumstance that at the new erection of the see of Glasgow by Prince David, in 1115, no memory seems to have been extant in Strathclyde of any of the three bishops whose names

¹ Stubbs, "De Archiep. Ebor." The statement quoted is that Magsuen and John were consecrated by Kinsius, Archbishop of York, who received from them charters of allegiance, but that these charters were burned when York was sacked by the Normans.

² Cosmo Innes, "Sketches of Early Scotch History," p. 30; Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," ii. 11.

³ See letter of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Calixtus II., written between 1119 and 1122, against the claim of York to be a metropolitan see.—Twisden X. scriptores II., 1742-46, quoted by Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 29, *note*.



Stair from South Aisle of Lower Church, leading up to Nave.

were put forward by York, though the last of them had, if the claim was true, been consecrated only four years earlier, in 1109.¹ The assertion of superiority was strongly resisted by Glasgow,² and for sixty years formed bitter subject of dispute; but at length, in 1178, York's claim was disallowed by Rome. In that year a rescript of Pope Alexander III. to Bishop Jocelyn formally recognised the bishopric of Glasgow as subordinate to no see but that of Rome;³ and ten years later a bull of Pope Clement III. confirmed the independence of the Scottish sees. By the Popes named the claim of suzerainty may be considered to have been decided upon its merits, and with that claim of suzerainty, it is to be feared, must be set aside the three names of Magsuen, John, and Michael.

But while not much is known of successors to the actual ministry of Kentigern during these five hundred years, a few scattered records of the time remain, from which something may be gathered of the fortunes of his charge.

It would appear that the Angles of Northumbria were not in possession of a Christian bishop for nearly a generation after Glasgow, though Pope Gregory, in the year 601, had

¹ There occurs, indeed, in 1102, an independent reference to a possible bishop of Strathclyde. In that year Magnus, son of Erlend, Earl of the Orkneys, was pressed by Magnus Barefoot into an expedition against Anglesey and Ireland. He escaped from Barefoot's fleet, and remained in hiding, partly with the king of Scotland, and partly *in Britannia apud Episcopum quemdam*, until he became Earl of the Orkneys in 1103. (See Pinkerton's "Vita Sti Magni," cap. viii.; also "Saga of Magnus Barefoot," chap. xxv., in the *Heimskringla*.) The reference, however, is not very distinct, and is open to the same objections as that establishing Sedulius. The point is discussed by Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 14, *note*, where it is suggested that there may have been a bishop acting as suffragan to York in English Cumbria, as that region was in Norman hands more or less from 1092 to 1136. The ancient Strathclyde kingdom was by that time divided into two parts, the distinct north of the Solway forming a separate province under the Scottish crown.

² "Chronica de Mailros," 1123; see footnote, *ibid*.

³ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," Nos. 37 and 38.

authorised St Augustin to send an emissary there. Twenty-four years after the death of Kentigern, however, the Angles were brought to Christianity by the baptism, at Yevering, of their king Aeduin. According to Bede,¹ the baptizer was named Paulinus. He is said to have been sent north by Augustin, and is claimed as the first bishop of York. According to the continuator of Nennius, on the other hand, he is named Rum, son of Urbgen or Urien.² It has been inferred, therefore, that Paulinus was by birth a Briton of Strathclyde, who, as customary then and yet, had assumed a Latin name at ordination. By the author of "The Historians of York" it is ingeniously suggested that he may have been one of the fair-haired boys who attracted Pope Gregory's attention in the Roman market about 578, and whom the Pope had bought and trained to be missionaries to their native country. More probably, considering the chaotic state of the Roman empire at that time, broken up and raided as it was by the savage nations of the north, and its lines of communication all but impracticable, Paulinus was an actual disciple of Kentigern, one of those sent out by the holy man to the heathen around. From his description as the son of Urien, it seems just possible that he was a near relative of Kentigern himself, of the royal race of Reged. Presently, however, Aeduin was slain by the apostate Briton Ceadwalla, and under him and Aeduin's successor Penda, paganism again triumphed over the country. At the same time Strathclyde fell under the rule of the Angles, and, probably in consequence, Paulinus fled to Kent. When Northumbria once more became Christian under its next Anglian king, Oswald, it

¹ "Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ," lib. ii. cap. xiv.

² "Chronicles of Picts and Scots," p. 13.



Stair from North Aisle of Lower Church, leading up to Nave.

got its religion, not from Rome or Glasgow, but from the north, where Oswald had been a refugee, and at the hands of the saintly Aidan, an apostle of Columba.¹

According to Bede, the Britons of Strathclyde recovered their freedom in the year 655; but from the time of their first conquest by the Angles, their church, the church of Kentigern, appears no longer among the Christianising influences in the country. Its place as an active missionary church appears to have been taken by the church of Iona. So it came about that the church in Scotland, during the succeeding five centuries, was not Cymric or British, but Columban or Irish-Scottish in origin. Even the church of Glasgow itself appears to have come to some extent under the influence of Iona, for Bede records that, about the year 688, it conformed to the proper time of keeping Easter at the instance of Adamnan, Columba's successor and biographer. At anyrate, during the period when the Columban church was most active in missionary enterprise throughout the country, while Aidan, Ebba, and Cuthbert were founding among the Angles the great religious houses of Lindisfarne, Coldingham, and Melrose, next to nothing is known of the fortunes of the church of Kentigern at Glasgow.

This state of matters may perhaps be accounted for politically. From the time of Columba's coming to Iona, the kingdom of the Dalriadic Scots, or Gaels, had been rapidly attaining power in the country, and from their original settlement in Earrha Gaidheal, or Argyle, their influence continued spreading north-

¹ Bede, "Hist. Eccles.," lib. iii. caps. i., v.; "Chronicon Hyense," *sub anno* ("Historians of Scotland," vi. 334).

ward and eastward. On the other hand, the Cymric kingdom of Strathclyde was, during those years, struggling for bare existence. Following its conflict with the Angles of the east coast, it found itself assailed by its former allies, the Dalriadic Scots themselves. It is true that in 704, in the first recorded battle between the Scots and Britons, which took place in Glen Leven, the former, under a leader named Eochy of the Steeds, were defeated with great slaughter. But in 711 and in 717, as has been already mentioned, the Strathclyde Cymri were in turn overthrown at Loirg-Ecclet and at Minvirce.¹ Again, in 750, the Cymri were at war with the Picts beyond the Forth, and though the latter suffered defeat in a great battle at Maesydauc or Magh Ceataig, the Plain of Ceataig, the missionary enterprise of Glasgow was possibly rather hindered than helped by the fact. Finally, towards the end of the eighth century, the Britons began their long struggle with a still fiercer foe. About that time the Vikings of the north began to infest the western coasts, and it was probably by them, though their part in the deed is not ascertained, that in the year 780, about the end of winter, the Strathclyde capital, Alclutha, now Dunbarton, was burned.²

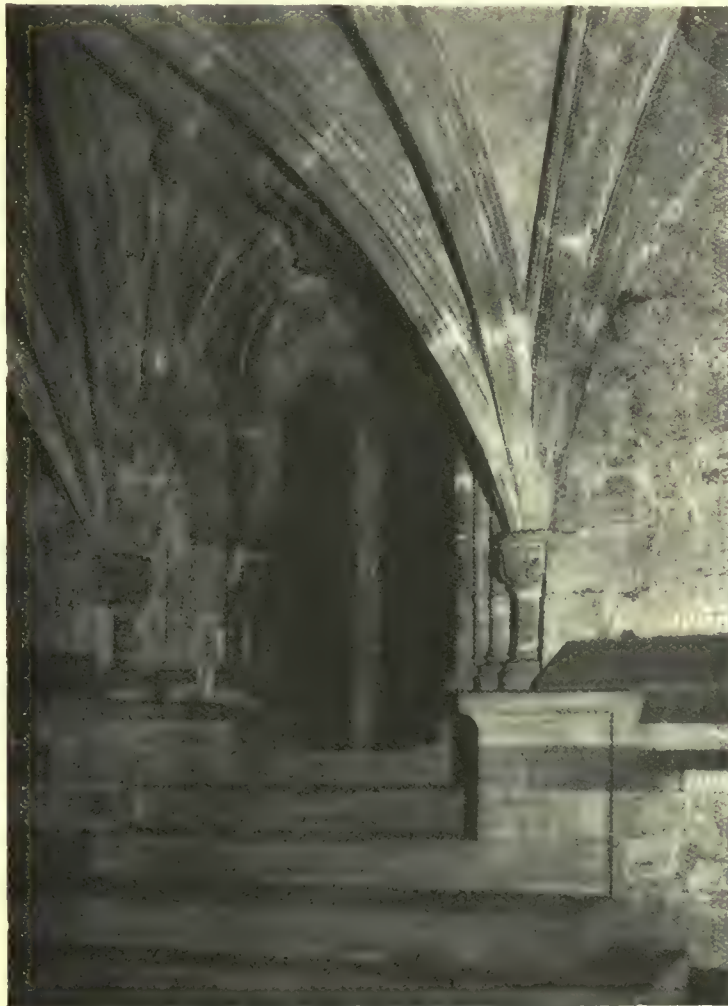
Nevertheless, though its energies may have been sapped and its influence among neighbouring tribes weakened by these constant strifes, the church of Glasgow must have continued to enjoy a large measure of respect in its own region and among its own people, for the *Notitia* made at the instance of David about the year 1120, recounts quite a considerable list of possessions, which

¹ "Annales Tighernæ," *sub annis* as affixed in "Chronicles of Picts and Scots," pp. 73 and 74.

² "Annals of Ulster," in "Chronicles of Picts and Scots," p. 358.

by gift or purchase had become its property.¹ These included lands far down in Dumfriesshire, in Teviotdale, and on the Tweed, and the fact proves that for several centuries at least the authority of the church of Glasgow remained coextensive with the Cymric kingdom of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, as in David's time it had come to be called.

The *Notitia*, however, states that owing to the confusions and revolutions in the country, all traces of the church of Kentigern, and almost all of Christianity, had been destroyed. No



Stair leading up from Blacader's Aisle.

doubt the disintegration of the church had followed the same processes and been owed to the same causes at Glasgow as elsewhere throughout Scotland. That process of disintegration is traced with much interest both by Skene in his "Celtic Scotland,"

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.;" see also Preface to "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," p. xxiv. A summary of the *Notitia* is included in the chapter on "The Catholic Bishopric," *infra*.

and by Reeves in his "History of the Culdees." Indirectly it may be attributed to the spread of ascendancy of the Columban church of Iona. In that church, even from the days immediately following the abbacy of Columba, it appears to have been the practice to confine the succession in each monastery to one family. Thus four successive abbots of Iona after Columba were of the same lineage as the great Gaelic apostle.¹ Based on this practice, a tendency in course of time crept in for the monks throughout the country to hand on their office and property to their children. The abuses likely to arise from such a custom became more conspicuous when a new system was introduced. In many cases then, it can be understood, the Columban monks, deposed from their charges, still retained hold of their benefices as family property, and left an impoverished church to their successors.

Skene is at pains to show that the name Culdee was unknown before the beginning of the eighth century.² In the year 710, according to Bede, Nectan, king of the Picts, brought into his realm north of the Forth, the Roman observance of Easter and form of coronal tonsure.³ The active agent in the conversion of Nectan was the monk Boniface,⁴ and as an immediate result of his work, the Columban clergy in the Pictish kingdom were compelled either to conform to the new usage or to abandon their charge. This reform had taken place previously in Northumbria, and Bede, in his letter to Egbert, laments that it had resulted there in a great secularising of the clergy, and breaking

¹ "Chronicon Hyense" ("Historians of Scotland," vol. vi. p. cxlvii).

² "Celtic Scotland," ii. 226.

³ "Hist. Eccles.," v. 21.

⁴ Aberdeen Breviary, March 16; "Chronicles of Picts and Scots," p. 423.

down of the religious houses.¹ Its issue in the Pictish kingdom appears to have been the same. The secularising of church lands and benefices there during the ninth and tenth centuries has been traced by Skene from such authorities as the "Scotichronicon" and the "Pictish Chronicle"²; and though history is silent as to the progress of church affairs during that period in the neighbouring kingdom of Strathclyde, there can be little doubt that the same secularisation was brought about by the same causes there; the church of Glasgow having conformed to Roman usage, as we have seen, as early as 688.

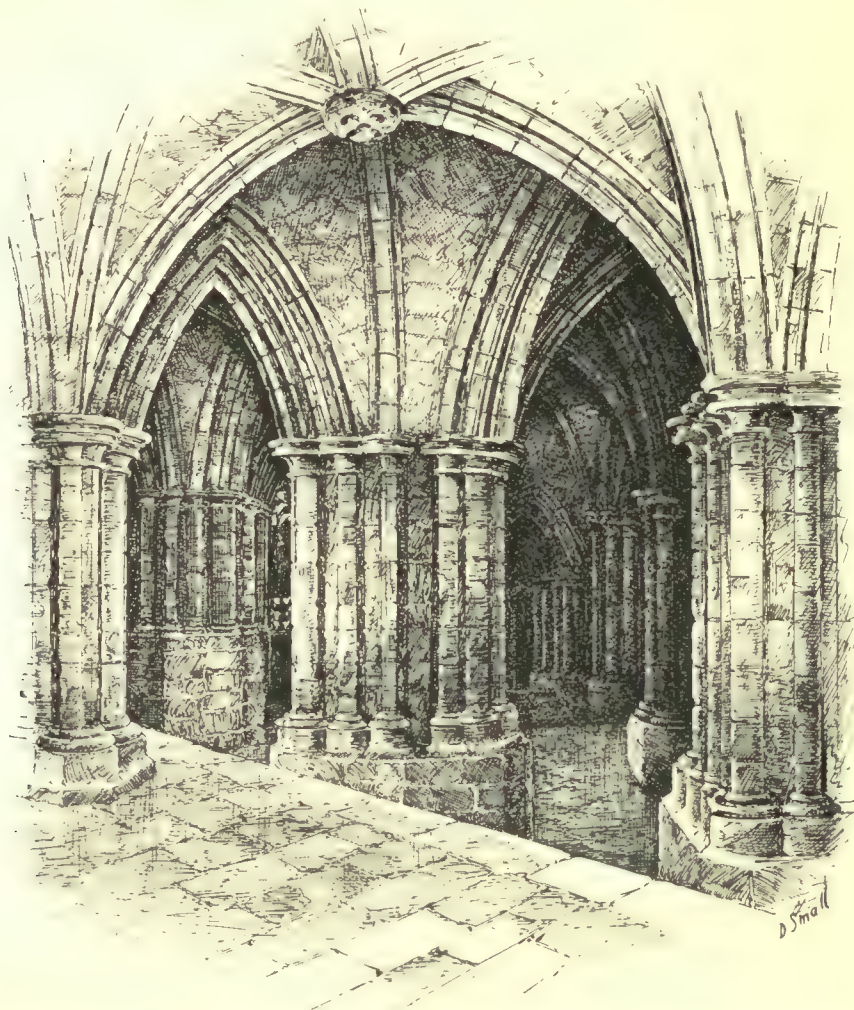
Upon the break up of the primitive religious houses by the introduction of the Roman usage, the offices of religion throughout the country appear to have been carried on by the Culdees (Gaelic *Ceile de*, "separated to God"). The first authentic mention of these Culdees appears to be in a memorandum of certain early charters of the Celtic period preserved in the Chartulary of St Andrews. One of the charters is a grant by Brud, king of the Picts (697-706), brother and predecessor of Nectan, granting the Isle of Loch Leven, to God and St Servanus, "and to the Keledei hermits dwelling there."³ No doubt the Culdees were inheritors of the traditions and church property of the early missionaries, but owing to their organisation, or rather lack of organisation, serious abuses became in course of time common among them. Following the custom of the Columban church, they were generally

¹ "Miscellaneous Works," ed. 1843, vol. i. p. 129.

² "Celtic Scotland," ii. 320. See also "Reg. Epus. Brechinensis," Preface, p. iv. As evidence that the lands of the religious houses had passed largely into the hands of laymen, Robertson ("Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals," p. 28) quotes entries in the Chartularies of Arbroath, St Andrews, Inchaffray, Dunfermline, Scone, Aberdeen, and Holyrood. The lay possessors took the title of abb or abbot, but left the service of religion to a prior and irregular monks.

³ "Registrum Prioratus Sti Andreae," p. 113; "Celtic Scotland," ii. 259.

married, and it appears to have been their custom to hand on their office and property to their children. In a church whose discipline permitted such things, it is easy to understand that disintegration



Columns in Lower Church (the "Rob Roy Column"), looking to Door of Chapter-house.

and deterioration must have rapidly taken place. Some idea of the state to which the church in Scotland fell in the hands of the Culdees may be gathered from an account included in a sketch of the history of St Andrews drawn up by the Canons

Regular established there in 1144. The sketch dates from about that year, and though not perhaps drawn by a too friendly hand, its general truth may be taken as unquestioned.

“There were kept up,” says the writer of the account, “in the church of St Andrew, such as it then was, by family succession, a society of thirteen, commonly called Keledei, whose manner of life was shaped more in accordance with their own fancy and human tradition than with the precepts of the holy fathers. Nay, even to the present day their practice continues the same, and though they* have some things in common, these are such as are less in amount and value, while they individually enjoy the larger and better portion, just as each of them happens to receive gifts, either by friends who are united to them by some private tie, such as kindred or connection, or from those whose *soul-friends*, that is, spiritual advisers, they are, or from any other source. After they are made Keledei they are not allowed to keep their wives within their lodgings, nor any other women, who might give rise to injurious suspicions. Moreover, there were seven beneficiaries, who divided among themselves the offerings of the altar, of which seven portions the bishop used to enjoy but one, and the hospital another. The remaining five were apportioned to the other five members, who performed no duty whatever, either at altar or church, and whose only obligation was to provide, after their custom, lodging and entertainment for pilgrims and strangers, when more than six chanced to arrive, determining by lot whom and how many each of them was to receive. The hospital had continual accommodation for a number not exceeding six. The above-mentioned beneficiaries were also possessed of their private

revenues and property, which, upon their death, their wives, whom they openly lived with, and their sons or daughters, their relatives or sons-in-law, used to divide among themselves; even the very offerings of the altar at which they did not serve—a profanation which one would blush to speak of, if they had not chosen to practise. Nor could this monstrous abuse be corrected before the time of Alexander of happy memory, a sovereign of exemplary devotion to God's holy church."¹

There can be little marvel that, with a clergy so depraved, the annals of the Christian church in Scotland became obscure.

A more favourable account of the Culdees, it is true, is furnished by Jocelyn, the monk of Furness, in his *Life of Kentigern*. "Possessing nothing," he says, "they lived piously and soberly apart in small dwellings (*casulis*) of their own, whence they were called single clergy, and in common speech Culdees." This probably describes them as they were known to Jocelyn in his own time, the twelfth century, in the region of Cumbria or Strathclyde; and from the description it is possible to infer that the church of Kentigern, even to that late period, remained somewhat less corrupt than the church throughout the rest of the country. It would appear, however, that in general, owing to prevailing abuses, a reformation was needed.

The great mediæval awakening of the church in Scotland may be traced to the marriage of Malcolm Canmore with the Saxon princess Margaret, in the spring of the year 1069. One of the bravest, sweetest, and most devout of women, Margaret set herself to be a wife to her rude but great-hearted husband,

¹ "Historia Ecclesiæ Sti Andreae;" British Museum Harl., No. 4628; Reeves's "Culdees of the British Islands," pp. 37 and 106.

and a queen to his subjects, in the highest sense of the words. Among the clergy she found many practices which she thought to be "contrary to the rules of the true faith, as well as to the sacred customs of the universal church." Not only were the clergy themselves "an hereditary caste, living in ease and sloth, and transmitting their benefices to their children," but the Sabbath was no longer observed, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was no longer celebrated. To rectify these abuses she called frequent councils, and herself in person, by argument and example, strove to bring about reform.¹ She herself built churches, some of which still stand, at Dunfermline, Iona, and Edinburgh, and finding the native clergy for the greater part incorrigible, she began the practice, afterwards carried out to so large an extent by her sons, Edgar, Alexander I., and David I., of introducing clergy of stricter orders and Canons Regular from the south.

In some districts the Culdee church, though corrupt, was still a power to be reckoned with. Especially was this the case at some of its chief centres, such as Brechin, Abernethy, and St Andrews, where it built the curious towers, round and square, which still remain to be seen.² In some instances, as at Brechin, the old Culdee convent and its prior submitted to reform, and became the electoral chapter of the new bishopric;³ but in general

¹ "Vita S. Margaretæ," cap. ii.

² The round towers at Brechin and Abernethy are obviously Irish in origin (see Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland"; also Cosmo Innes, "Reg. Epus. Brechinensis," p. iv.). As for the little Romanesque church and square tower at St Andrews—from the "Historia B. Reguli et Foundationis ecclesiæ S. Andreae," Dr Robertson ("Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals," p. 34) seeks to identify it as the small basilica reared by Bishop Robert in 1127-44. The peculiar tower, he thinks, may have been suggested by such structures as those at Billingham and Monk Wearmouth. It appears, however, not unlikely that Lord Lindsay is right in finding its prototype in the round towers of Ireland.

³ "Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis," Preface, p. iv. Edited by Cosmo Innes, 1856.

this was found to be impracticable, and the old order was entirely superseded by new Canons Regular.¹

At Glasgow the latter method appears to have been followed. Whatever the personal life of the Culdee clergy in the district may, according to Jocelin, have remained, the property of the church appears to have been alienated, and the discipline neglected, and to furnish grounds for a new erection, it was necessary to order an inquiry to be made, and a *Notitia* of the ancient property of the church to be drawn up. This, after a fashion followed at that time, formed, on its completion in the year 1120 or 1121, the foundation charter of the Bishopric of Glasgow.

Though nothing further is heard of them at Glasgow, in some parts of the country the Culdees continued to exist alongside of, and even in rivalry with, the newer Canons Regular, for over two hundred years. William Comyn, their provost at St Andrews, so late as the year 1328, went to Rome and protested against the election of a bishop by a chapter from which the Keledei had been excluded; but his protest was without effect.² For a short period longer they lingered in evidence, though continually diminishing in importance and power, and the last record of them occurs in the year 1332.³ On their ruin rose the great Roman hierarchy of Scotland in the Middle Ages, with its princely prelacy, and fanes splendid beyond anything the simplicity of the earlier church had dreamed.

¹ "Scotland in the Middle Ages," p. 111.

² Fordoun's "Scotichronicon," lib. vi. cap. xlv.

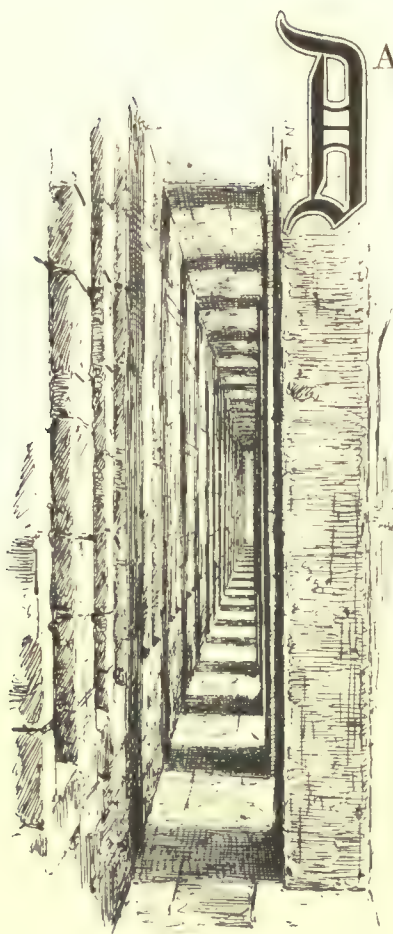
³ Reeves's "Culdees," p. 40.



Cathedral, with Blacader's Aisle, from the South-west.



THE CATHOLIC BISHOPRIC.



North Clerestory Gallery of Nave from West End

DAVID I. was the great restorer of the Church of Glasgow. Of the new foundations of churches in Scotland, indeed, the great majority were his work. Before his day the kingdom of Strathclyde had, under the name of Cumbria, become an appanage of the Scottish Crown, and the heir-apparent of Scotland was known as Prince of Cumbria. It was while his brother, Alexander I., was still King of Scotland, and he himself still Prince of Cumbria, that the son of Queen Margaret first bestirred himself to set the House of God in order. One of his earliest efforts, naturally, was the restoration of the high church of his principality.

In its time the movement then going on in Scotland was a great social reform. Until the days of Malcolm Canmore the Pictish and Scottish kings, and apparently also the Cumbrian princes, had ruled in patriarchal

fashion.¹ The clan or family was the unit of society, holding its lands upon no condition but the right of the sword ;² and the king was little more than a great chief among chiefs.

Following the influence of Queen Margaret, however, the feudal system was rapidly introduced. Lands were granted upon conditions of improvement, service, and defence, and for the fulfilment of these conditions of tenure the holder was answerable to the king. Thus under the Celtic kings a new aristocracy was introduced, of Saxons, Normans, and Flemings. Wherever one of these got a grant of land he built a hamlet, a castle, and a church. The "planting" in this fashion of the upper ward of Clydesdale is to be clearly read in the Register of Kelso. Thus Thankerton was the foundation of Tancred, Symington (both there and in Kyle) of Simon Lockhart, Walston and Dolphington of the brothers Waldef and Dalfin, and Lamington and Robertson of the brothers Lambin and Robert.³ Without entering here upon any defence of the feudal system of tenure, it may be remarked that its introduction afforded the means of a vast improvement on the face of the country and the conditions of life, and rendered more possible the enforcement of law and order.

Contemporary with this introduction of the feudal system in social life was the introduction of the feudal system of church government. Previously the system had been monastic and irregular, conducted by isolated "families" or communities of Culdee monks responsible to no central authority. It now became parochial and

¹ For a detailed account of the early form of government, see Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings," vol. i. chap. ii.

² The charter of the family of Leny in Menteith, for instance, granted by Alexander II. in 1237, *Alano de Lani et Margaritæ de Lani*, mentions that the estate had formerly been granted by King Calenus to Gillespie Moir de Lani, *militi*, to be held *virtute gladii parvi*.—"Old Statistical Account," vol. vi. p. 606.

³ "Liber S. Marie de Calchou," pp. 227, 319 ; "Orig. Par. Scot." p. xxviii, note.

regular, and the clergy of each district were placed under the supervision of a territorial bishop.¹

It was in pursuit of this well-defined and far-seeing policy that, about the year 1115, David appointed his chancellor and former tutor, John Eochy, otherwise Achaius, to be Bishop of Glasgow.²

As a first step towards the new erection, David followed a plan common at that time, and ordered an enquiry to be made upon evidence as to the ancient possessions of the Church of Glasgow. The document containing the result of this enquiry appears as the fifth article in the chartulary or "Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow,"³ and throws important light upon the extent both of the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, and upon the sphere of influence of the early Cymric Church. Like others of the most ancient Scottish documents it remains undated, but by high legal authority it has been quoted as "perhaps the oldest authentic Scottish document extant."⁴ The copy in the original "Registrum," now at Blairs College, Aberdeenshire, is written in a hand of the twelfth century; the date of the original is set at about the year 1120. The Inquest, at any rate, by its own statement, was made after the consecration and return of Bishop John Achaius, and before the accession of David to the Scottish throne in 1124.

The "Notitia," or record of this inquest, was printed probably

¹ "Reg. Epus. Aberdon," pp. xix, 6.

² 1115 is the year given by Keith in his "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops" as the date of consecration of Achaius. Keith's statement appears to be founded on the Notitia of David, on the "Chronica de Mailros," and on Simeon of Durham (Twysden, "Scriptores"), all of these stating that Achaius was consecrated against his will by Pope Paschal II. and sent back to Scotland. Paschal II. died in 1117. Haddan and Stubbs (Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, ii. 16) make 1117 the most probable year of the consecration. This was obviously, however, the latest date possible for it, and there is no circumstance which renders it impossible in 1115.

³ Edited for the Maitland Club by Cosmo Innes in 1843.

⁴ Case of James, Earl of Barcarres, etc., claiming the Earldom of Crawford.—p. 1, note b.

for the first time by Sir James Dalrymple in his "Collections concerning Scottish History" in 1705, from an excerpt of the Registrum taken in October 1556, before the removal of the latter to France, and preserved in the Advocates' Library. Dalrymple learnedly discusses the instrument and traces the names of its witnesses. An English version, more or less incorrect, was printed by Gibson in the Appendix to his "History of Glasgow," and has been several times reproduced. Both the original document, however, and a complete and reliable translation, with full and interesting notes by Mr J. T. T. Brown, appeared in "Scots Lore," 1895, vol. i. p. 36.

After a very brief and general summary of the religious history of the province—its early christianising by Kentigern and his many successors, and its subsequent relapse to paganism, subversion by heathen nations, and descent to savagery, the *Notitia* mentions the succession of David to the principedom. "He indeed," it goes on, "burning with zeal for holy living, pitying the wretchedness of the profane multitude, moved by divine promptings, in order to wipe out their reproach by that pastoral care which they too long had lacked, by the aid of his nobles and clergy chose as bishop, John, a certain religious man who had educated him." The new bishop, it next appears, greatly terrified by the vice and savagery of his people, arranged to set out for Jerusalem, but on being consecrated, though against his will, by Pope Paschal, he returned to his charge with zeal and success. Thereupon, the document proceeds, David "caused enquiry to be made concerning the lands pertaining to the Church of Glasgow in each of the provinces of Cumbria which were under his dominion and rule—for he did not rule over the whole of Cumbria—so that, eager for the restoration of that Church, he might leave to

the next generation and their successor a certification of those possessions which of old it had held."

The Notitia, it will be seen, expressly states that the whole of ancient Cumbria, or Strathclyde, no longer pertained to the Scottish Crown. Its conqueror Edmund, King of the Angles, it is true, had ceded it to Malcolm II. about the year 945, but in 1092 the region south of the Solway was seized by William Rufus from Malcolm Canmore. The district so seized never, therefore, formed part of the new bishopric of Glasgow, and whether or not at that early period it was ruled under the name of English Cumbria by a suffragan of York, it was erected subsequently into the separate English bishopric of Carlisle. So far, however, as David's rule extended, the Notitia makes it clear that the ancient rule of the Church of Glasgow had been coextensive with the kingdom of Strathclyde. According to the latest interpretation of the document by Mr Brown, the ancient possessions belonging to Glasgow were as follows:—Cardowan in the Barony parish, a mile west of the Bishoploch; Cadder parish, about four miles north of Glasgow; Camlachie; Garnkirk; Barlanark or Provand, all in the neighbourhood of the city; Kinclaith, now part of Glasgow Green; Garngad to the north of the cathedral, or Carnwath in Lanarkshire; Carntyne in the Barony parish; Carmyle in Old Monkland; the parish of Wandell in Lanarkshire; Abercarf, a small property at the confluence of the Tarth and the Lyne in Peeblesshire; Dalserf in Lanarkshire; Carluke or Carmichael in the same county; Stobo in Peeblesshire; Eddleston in the same county; Ancrum, Tryorne, Lilliesleaf, and Ashkirk, all in Roxburghshire; Hoddam in Dumfriesshire; Ednam in Roxburghshire; Abermilk, now St Mungo's, in Annandale, Dumfriesshire; Dryfesdale or Drysdale in the same county; Colehtown, probably "Coldanis

above Castlemile"; Trailtrow, now merged in Cummertres parish, Dumfriesshire; Esbie, near Hoddam; Brumescheyed, a place not identified by reason of the commonness of the name; Truergylt, probably Torgill in Dumfriesshire; also a carrucate of land¹ and the church in each of the three places, Peebles, Traquair, and Morebattle.

It has been remarked that none of the witnesses to David's Notitia was a native Cumbrian. All of them were either Anglie or Norman. The fact forms a striking illustration of the political movement of the time. Oath, however, was made by Uchtred, Gill, Leysing, and Oggo, judges in Cumbria, that the lands mentioned were the possessions of the Church of Cumbria; and the document, witnessed by David's consort, Matilda, Countess of Northampton and Huntingdon, and grand-niece of William the Conqueror,² by David's nephew William, son of King Duncan,³ and by a host of other notables, became the foundation charter of the Bishopric of Glasgow.

From the date of David's Inquisitio the Church of Glasgow continued to grow in prosperity and power almost without a break for four hundred and forty years. The prince himself furnished an example of munificence, not only by confirming the Bishop in the ancient possessions of his church, but also with new royal grants. He gave to it the churches of Renfrew, Govan, and Cadzow, with the tithe of his kine, or cattle and swine taxes, in Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, except when required for his own use, also the eighth penny of all pleas of court throughout Cumbria.⁴ Supported by the royal countenance, Achaius himself acquired from

¹ A carrucate or plough of land = 104 acres arable.

² Skene, "Celtic Scotland," i. 455.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁴ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 66, 6, 8, 9, 10.

the Bishop of St Andrews the church of Borthwick in Lothian,¹ and proceeded to build his cathedral. It was dedicated to St Kentigern on the nones of July 1136,² and on the occasion David added to the possessions of the Bishop the lands of Perdeyc, now Partick, which, with Govan on the opposite bank of the Clyde, was presently erected into a prebend.³

Along with its prosperity, however, the rising church had its troubles. Chief of these was the claim of superiority, already referred to, made by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, in 1122.⁴ This claim Achaius was stout enough to resist, but on Thurstan suspending him, he appears to have quailed. He went, it is said, to Jerusalem, and only returned on the order of the Pope in 1123.⁵ Altogether, the Bishop of Glasgow appears to have been of an unduly timid and retiring character. He had twice already, as we have seen, fled from his charge, when, in 1125, he went to Rome to obtain the *pallium* for the Bishop of St Andrews. The grant was opposed by the Archbishop of York, and Achaius appears to have so disliked the struggle that he retired among the Benedictines for thirteen years, and only returned to his diocese on the injunction of Alberic, the legate, in 1138.⁶ Like many of the subsequent bishops of Glasgow, Achaius was Chancellor of the Kingdom. He must therefore have been not only pious but able. He stands recorded, however, rather as a man of religion than as a fighting ecclesiastic.

Bishop Herbert, who succeeded Achaius in 1147, remains noted for the introduction of the ritual of Sarum into his diocese. The

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 11.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 3, 7.

³ "Chron. de Mailros."

⁴ "Chronica de Mailros," *sub anno*.

⁵ See p. 44; Stubbs (Twysden, "Scriptores").

⁶ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." p. xxi.

change, it is true, is stated by Henry the Minstrel to have been one of the oppressive acts of Edward I. of England.

The Bischoppis all inclynit to his Crown,
Baith Temporall and the Religioun.
The Romane buikis that than were in Scotland
He gart thaim beir to Scone, quhair thay thame fand,
And, but redeme, thay brynt thame all ilk ane :
Salisbury Use our Clerkis than hes tane.¹

This fiction is repeated by Boethius, but the usage was introduced nearly a century and a half before Edward's time, the new arrangement being attested by a bill of confirmation still to be seen on the Pope's Register at Rome.²

While Achaius had been a "building bishop," Herbert appears to have paid more attention to the literary interests of his see. Besides introducing the Sarum ritual he had a life of Kentigern written, of which an interesting fragment remains.³ He also obtained from the Pope an injunction to the clergy and people of the diocese to visit the cathedral church once a year; and he confirmed an ordinance of the Chapter that on the death of a canon his prebend for one year should be devoted to pay his debts or to the poor.⁴ During his time the See received from the Crown a gift of the church and endowments of Old Roxburgh, and a gift of Conclud, besides smaller benefactions from various nobles.⁵ When Roger, Archbishop of York, renewed the claim of superiority in 1159, Herbert left the battle to be fought by his subordinate, Ingelram, Archdeacon of Glasgow, who was also Chancellor of the Kingdom; and the latter fought so well, both at the provincial council at Norham, and also at

¹ The "Buik of William Wallace," ed. Henrie Charteris, 1594, fol. 158.

² Dalrymple's "Collections," p. 367-369; "Spalding Club Miscellany," vol. ii. pp. 364-366.

³ See p. 18.

⁴ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 21, 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 12, 15, 10, 20.

Rome, that on Herbert's death he was immediately elected his successor.¹

So far, the see had held its own. Presently, under a bishop of genius, it became one of the most powerful factors in the kingdom. In 1174 Bishop Ingelram was succeeded by Jocelin, a monk of the Cistercian order, and Abbot of Melrose. The "*Chronica de Mailros*" describes him as a "man gracious and complaisant, gentle and of good control." This gracious and gentle bishop defied not only Roger, Archbishop of York, but Henry, King of England. In the face of both of these he went to Rome in 1182, and secured the removal of the excommunication, which at their instance had been laid on his royal master, William the Lion.² Still farther, in despite of their efforts he secured, in 1188, the papal order that the Scottish bishops should yield obedience to Rome alone.³ In Scotland William was creating free burghs on his lands, and Jocelin seized the opportunity to secure the charter of a burgh for Glasgow. This, with the right of a market on Thursday and the freedoms and customs of a king's burgh—the foundation charter of Glasgow's greatness—was granted at Traquair between 1175 and 1178.⁴ Ten years later Jocelin secured the right of a yearly fair to be held for eight full days after the octaves of St Peter and St Paul (6th July).⁵ The same gentle bishop secured large accessions of property throughout the kingdom, and with a view to the rebuilding of his Cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire, he not only had a new life of the patron saint written to excite public interest, but procured a royal injunction that the undertaking should receive general support throughout the kingdom.⁶

¹ Keith, "Cat. Scot. Bishops," p. 233.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg." p. xxiv.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 76. Taken by some as a royal charter to a fraternity of Freemasons.—*Pagan*, p. 92.

It was a fitting end to this gentle but singularly able bishop that he should retire at last to his old Abbey of Melrose, and die among his brethren of the convent there.¹



Nave (planned by Jocelin) from Organ Gallery.

At this period—the reign of William the Lion—Scotland again and again felt the ground-swell of the crusades. William's own

¹ "Chron. de Mailros."

brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon, himself, immediately after his marriage, led a forlorn hope to the Holy Land.¹ And if the annals of the time were fuller it might be possible to show that the little bishop's burgh on the Molendinar itself directly felt the throbbings of the Infidel War. Jocelin's successor, Bishop Malvoisin, we know, was an enthusiast for the cause, and after he had been translated to St Andrews, preached throughout the country in its favour.² Bishop Florence, again, who succeeded him at Glasgow, was himself the son of Count Florence of Holland, the hero of Damietta, by Ada, grand-daughter of David I., and could not fail to be interested in the great undertaking. And Bishop Walter, the successor of Florence, was the chosen companion of Malvoisin in preaching the Crusade, the two having attended the great Lateran Council at Rome in November 1215, in which Christendom was taxed for the relief of the Holy Sepulchre.³

During the last-named prelate's time Rome espoused the cause of King John of England against the Scots king, Alexander II., and the Cardinal Legate, Gualo, laid Alexander and his nation under interdict. Bishop Walter, however, with the Bishops of Caithness and Moray, proceeded to the Papal court, and pled so effectively, that the interdict was removed, and Gualo recalled.⁴

During the rule of bishops succeeding Jocelin, the see received constant accessions of churches and property. From possessing twenty-five churches in the early part of the reign of William the Lion, it had grown by grants of land and churches in Ashkirk, Gillemoreston, Stobo, Carnwath, Kilbride, Annandale,

¹ Boethius, lib. xiii. cap. vii.

³ *Idem*, "Chron. de Mailros," *sub anno*.

² Fordoun, lib. viii. cap. lxxviii.

⁴ Boethius, lib. xiii. cap. xii.

Hottun, Muckart, Lilliesleaf, Wilton, Campsie, and Cardross.¹ In the reign of Alexander II. were added the churches of Dalziel, from the Abbey of Paisley; Hottun, from the Abbey of Jedburgh, Annan, Lochmaben, with its chapel of Rokele, Cumbertrees, Gretna, Rempatrik, Kirkpatrick, and the chapel of Logan, all from the monastery of Gyseburne;² St Bride of Winterton-negan, from Affrica of Nithsdale, Merebotle, and the lands of Ingoliston. There were also added further revenues from Rutherglen, Cadzow, Ashkirk, Bonhill, Roxburgh, Golyn, and Mosplat in the bailiary of Lanark.³

The church's wealth, however, was not always got without a struggle. In the wild regions of Carrick and the Lennox it was long unable to levy its dues, and it was not till the year 1225 that Duncan, Earl of Carrick, and Maldoveni, Earl of Lennox, became the church's friends, agreeing to oppress the clergy no longer with exactions, and to enforce church censures by the civil power.⁴ The chief struggle of Glasgow in these early times, however, was with the burghs of Rutherglen and Dunbarton. These two places were very naturally inclined to feel a certain jealousy of the rising commerce and consequence of their younger neighbour, and the conflicting interests had finally to be decided by the King. The ancient burgh of Rutherglen apparently had prescriptive rights, but in 1226 Bishop Walter secured from Alexander II. a charter restricting the bailies of Rutherglen from taking toll in Glasgow further than the cross of Schedenestun, now Shettleston. Dunbarton was not so fortunate, and in 1242-3 saw the right of free trade in the entire regions of

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." p. xxiii.

² These had been granted to the Chapter of Gyseburne by Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale. The original charter of Bruce is preserved among the Harleian charters in the British Museum. The seal, on green wax, is still entire, and represents a knight on horseback; on his shield and the housings of his horse the chief and saltire of Bruce; the legend *Esto ferox ut leo*.—Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 39.

³ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." pp. xxvi, xxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.* Nos. 139, 141.

Lennox and Argyle given to the Bishop and his burgh of Glasgow, "without any let whatsoever of our bailies of Dunbarton."¹

This latter charter was granted to Bishop William de Bondington. A courteous, liberal man, and faithful councillor of the king, according to Fordoun, Bondington found time, apart from his duties as bishop, and as chancellor of the kingdom, to proceed vigorously with the building of his cathedral.² To this end he procured from the Provincial Council at Perth in 1242 an order that on every Sunday and holiday, from Ash Wednesday to Low Sunday, the duty of contributing to the work should be enjoined on the people in every parish church throughout the kingdom, and that during the same period no other collection should be taken.³ He procured also in 1241 a grant from Alexander II. of the right of free forest in the lands belonging to the manor of Glasgow,⁴ founded the monastery of the Blackfriars in 1246,⁵ and instituted proceedings which led to the adoption by the cathedral chapter of the laws and constitution of Bishop Osmund of Salisbury.⁶ He appears, moreover, to have been a prelate of spirit, and struck out a line of patriotic conduct, which for three centuries was to be a chief characteristic of the Glasgow bishopric. Henry III. of England was then intriguing against the

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 135, 183.

² "Willelmus episcopus Glasguensis, dictus de Bondington, qui multo tempore fuit cancellarius et consiliarius regis fidelissimus, vir dapsilis et liberalis in omnibus, qui ecclesiam suam Glasguensem miro artificio lapideo aedificavit, et multis bonis ditavit et ornavit."—"Scotichronicon," lib. x. cap. ii; Boethius, lib. xiii. cap. xvi.

³ "Cart. Aberdon." quoted by Innes, "Reg. Epus. Glasg." p. xxviii. This custom of taking a national collection for local purposes continued in the Church of Scotland till recent times, and is evidenced by frequent entries in local session records, etc.

⁴ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 180.

⁵ The Monastery of the Dominican or Black Friars stood on the east side of High Street, where the College of Glasgow was afterwards settled, on ground now occupied by College Station of the North British Railway.—See "Orig. Par. Scot." p. 6.

⁶ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 207.

independence of Scotland, and when at Wark, in 1255, in the name of the boy-king, Alexander III., who was his son-in-law, he presumed to remodel the government of Scotland, Bondington, along with Gamelin, Bishop-elect of St Andrews, Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, and others, indignantly refused to affix his seal to the instrument, which, he asserted, compromised the liberties of the country.¹ For this opposition, and his steady hostility to the English influence, Gamelin was removed from his see by Henry. Upon this Bondington promptly consecrated him,² and the proceeding, followed as it was by the support of Rome and the excommunication of the English party in power,³ effectually turned the tables upon Henry, revived the fortunes of the patriotic party, and no doubt at that juncture saved Scotland from falling a prey to her southern neighbour.

Henry, it is true, presently sought to retaliate on the Scottish prelates. In 1264, under the name of funds to enable him to join the last Crusade, he procured from Innocent IV. a grant of a twentieth of the Church revenues of Scotland for three years. This grant was renewed in 1268 by Clement IV., and increased to a tenth. But the collection of the amount was stoutly resisted by the Scottish clergy, and it remains doubtful if any of it ever reached Henry's hands.⁴

The early bishops of Glasgow, however, do not appear to have been fighting prelates, and it is probably on this account that though the Norse rovers by this time infested the whole west coast, had established themselves so near as in the islands of the Firth of Clyde,

¹ "Chron. Mailros," p. 181; Rymer, "Fœdera," vol. i. p. 565.

² Fordoun, lib. x. cap. ix; Wyntoun's "Cronykil," Bk. vii. ch. x.

³ "Chron. Mailros," p. 182.

⁴ "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," p. xxxvi.

and once at least carried fire and sword far into the possessions of the church itself,¹ we know of no attempt at reprisal on the part of a Bishop of Glasgow. In view of this fact it is interesting to know that in all probability the ground upon which the struggle with the Norse power came to its great final issue was a possession of the Glasgow bishopric. Along with Ryesdale and Torhgil in Cunningham, afterwards known as the Chanonland, or forty merkland of the canons, Devorgilla, heiress of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and widow of John de Balliol the elder, gave to the church certain lands and pastures in her domain of Largs.²

At the time of the battle the Bishop of Glasgow was John de Cheyam, an Englishman appointed by Pope Alexander IV., who, having made himself unwelcome both to his chapter and to the king, found it most comfortable to reside abroad. The writer of the "Chronicon de Lanercost" reproaches Cheyam (or Cheham, a hamlet in Surrey) as a man of English birth but of small affection for England, inasmuch as, in his latter days, growing in covetousness, he claimed, to the prejudice of the diocese of Carlisle, that by ancient right his diocese extended into Westmoreland as far as Rere Cros on Staynmor.³

Hitherto nearly all the bishops of Glasgow had taken a prominent part in the government of the kingdom, but presently, at the decisive climax of Scotland's history, Glasgow was to furnish

¹ Norse account of the Expedition of Haco, pp. 63-79.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 230; "Diocesan Registers," Grampian Club, vol. i. p. 354, note. These lands were afterwards acquired by the family of Brisbane of that ilk.—Robertson's "Ayrshire families," i. 137. See note to "The Hall of the Vicar's Choral," *infra*. It was the same great lady, mother of John Balliol, the king, who founded the abbey of Dulce Cor—Sweetheart Abbey—below Dumfries, where she lies buried with her husband's heart on her breast, and who also, besides religious houses at Wigton and Dundee, founded Balliol College at Oxford.—Wyntoun's "Cronykil," Bk. viii. ch. viii.

³ "Chron. Lanercost," *sub anno* 1258; also notes, *ibid.*, p. 387.

a bishop great enough to checkmate the aggressions of the greatest of the English kings. Robert Wishart in 1272 succeeded in the see his uncle, William Wishart, apparently an able and ambitious prelate, who had been transferred before consecration at Glasgow to the bishopric of St Andrews.¹ Bishop Robert occupied the chair of Kentigern for the long period of forty-four years, and during his episcopate Scotland passed through the greatest crisis of her history. In the pregnant events of that time he used every occasion to fight for his country, both with the crozier and the sword.

Already, as we have seen, the English monarchs had begun to cast envious eyes on the Scottish kingdom. Henry II. of England owed his throne to the strong hand of his uncle, David I. of Scotland, yet when William the Lion, David's grandson, fell into his hands, he had not only stripped him of his English possessions, but compelled him to pay homage and to furnish a heavy ransom.² For the payment of this ransom the possessions of the Scottish Church, contrary to all usage, were heavily taxed.³ At the same time, as part of his advantage, Henry had done his utmost to bring the Scottish bishops under the authority of York.⁴ At a later day came the effort of Henry III., already noted, to subvert the government of Alexander III. Thanks chiefly to the prelates of

¹ "It seemed a marvel to many," writes Fordoun (lib. x. cap. xxviii.), "that a man of such great reputation—Bishop-elect of Glasgow, Archdeacon of St Andrews, the King's Chancellor, and rector or prebendary of twenty-two churches—should be seized by so great an ambition that all these did not suffice him, but he must allocate the bishopric of St Andrews to himself. This he accomplished rather by pretence than by piety, and more through the king's fear than through his love."

The same historian (x. xxix.) states that Robert Wishart was promoted from the archdeaconry of Lothian at the instance of his uncle and the king, and describes him at the time of his election as *juvenis ætate, sed moribus senior*.

² Wyntoun, "Cronykil," Bk. vii. ch. viii.

³ "Liber Ste. Marie de Melros," p. 14, Doc. No. 16.

⁴ Wyntoun, Bk. vii. chap. viii. The triumph of the Scottish Church over the pretensions of Henry

the Scottish Church, and conspicuously to the bishops of Glasgow, these insidious efforts of the Henries had been overcome. But with Edward I. on the English throne, and Scotland divided against itself by rival candidates for the sceptre, the struggle became one of life and death. It forms no part of the purpose here to enter into a detailed account of the devastating Wars of the Succession, but the history of Scotland at that time shews it to have been well for the independence of the country that certain prelates of the Church were staunch, and that the Bishop of Glasgow in particular had neither traditional reason nor personal desire to look with favour on the encroachments of English power.

A collection of state writs and documents published under the authority of the Lord Clerk Register within recent years,¹ affords proof of the energetic and important part played in the struggle of the time by Bishop Wishart. It is true that it was at Edward's suggestion the Scottish regents in 1289 appointed the Bishop of Glasgow with three others as plenipotentiaries to treat with the commissioners of Norway for the return of the young queen Margaret.² And in his first transactions in this character, at the meeting with Edward at Salisbury, and in the letters written from Brigham to Edward and to Eric of Norway agreeing to the marriage of Margaret with Prince Edward of England, he seems to have made no opposition to the terms of the intriguing monarch.³ But only

and the See of York is exultantly recorded by the early chronicler. On the appeal of the Scottish bishops, he says, Pope Alexander

"Renewyd all thare priwylage,
Thare custwmys, and thare awantage,
That thai had lawchful befor thai dayis ;
Owr Bischapys to be always
Submyttyd immedyate to the Pape,
And to nane othir Archebyschape."

¹ "Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland from 1286 to 1306," ed. Rev. Jos. Stevenson, Edin. 1870.

² Rymer, vol. ii. p. 431.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 471-2.

five months later, on 12th March 1290, Wishart's name appears, as one of the Guardians of Scotland, on a writ for the arrest of the Sheriff of Northumberland,¹ which was one of the first checks offered to the encroachments of the English king. Numerous other writs are extant in which,* along with William, Bishop of St Andrews, Johannes Cumyn, and Jacobus Senescallus, Bishop Wishart figures as an active administrator of the national affairs.² To his caution was also evidently due a large part of the clauses safe-guarding Scottish interests in the treaty of Brigham.³ In that document Wishart's name appears first among the three Scottish plenipotentiaries sent to treat with Edward.

It was immediately after this period, in 1291, when the hopes raised by the projected marriage between the young queen Margaret and Prince Edward of England had been suddenly blighted by the death of that queen, and when King Edward had assumed the title of Overlord of Scotland, that the bishop received from the latter a grant of oaks for his cathedral spire, and stags for his table out of the forest of Ettrick.⁴ The English king also gave him permission to finish building the episcopal castle at Carstairs.⁵ Wishart next appears in the list of Scottish nobles, whose goodwill, on John Balliol's ascending the throne in 1292, Edward sought to secure, bestowing on him, "by special grace," besides the ward and marriage of the heiress of Biggar, and the custody of the manor of Callander, certain sums of money, amounting to £119.⁶

¹ "Documents illus. Hist. Scot." i. 126.

² *Ibid.* Also "Rotuli Scotiæ," *per indices*. It is somewhat curious, considering his after-history, that in many of these cases Wishart was fulfilling without objection writs addressed to him by Edward, in which that king invariably styled himself *superior dominus regni Scotiæ*. But Bishop Robert had not yet, apparently, awakened to the actual designs of the English monarch.

³ "Doc. illus. Hist. Scot." i. 162.

⁴ "Rotuli Scotiæ," Aug. 18, 1291.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1292.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1291; Dec. 13, 1292; Aug. 26, 1295.

From first to last, however, Bishop Robert appears to have made no scruple of taking gifts from the English king, and complying with his requests in matters of form, while at the same time he held his own opinion and followed his own counsel in matters of practical moment. He kept no faith indeed with Edward, making no scruple of breaking the oaths of fealty to him which he found himself compelled to make.¹ If the fact be brought against him, it may be well to remember that Edward himself deliberately broke his oaths of the treaty of Brigham,² and thus, by violating on his side the conditions upon which the early oaths of the Scottish prelates and nobles were given, set an example which they were free to follow.

Thus it came about that after receiving from Edward, in common with the other Scottish bishops, the right of bequeathing his effects by will,³ and after submitting to Edward at Elgin upon the fall of Balliol,⁴ Wishart was one of the first to join Sir William Wallace when he raised the standard of independence anew.⁵ At Irvine, however, in 1297, when the Scottish army fell to pieces through its dissensions, Wishart, along with Bruce, Douglas, the Steward of Scotland, and other nobles, found it necessary again to submit to England.⁶ For this desertion Wallace accused the bishop of treachery, wasted his estates, attacked his castle, and threw his family into prison.⁷ Wishart was himself a prisoner in Roxburgh

¹ Rymer, June 13, 1292.

² Rymer, "Fœdera," ii. 489-90.

³ "Rotuli Scotiæ," Jan. 23, 1291-2.

⁴ "Ragman Rolls," pp. 101, 115; "Fœdera," July 25, 1296.

⁵ Hemingford, ii. 130.

⁶ *Idem*, ii. 132; Rymer, "Fœdera," July 9, 1297.

⁷ Hemingford, ii. 134, "Quod cum audisset ille latro Willelmus Walays, iratus animo, perrexit ad domum episcopi, et omnem ejus supellectilem, arma et equos, *filios etiam episcopi nepotum nomine nuncupatos*, secum adduxit." It seems just possible that this occurrence formed the foundation of the traditional story, given by Blind Harry, of Wallace's battle with Bishop Beck at the Bell o' the Brae. For an account of this tradition see Mr. Millar's article, *infra*, on "The Bishop's Castle." Wallace, of course, as Mr. Millar points out, may have burned, not the Castle of Glasgow, but some other residence of the Bishop.

Castle at this time.¹ It was owing to the imprisonment of Wishart and other ecclesiastics that Pope Boniface on 5th July 1299 addressed to Edward the spirited admonitory bull which reached the English king at Caerlaverock on the Solway, and induced him, under the threat of the Roman thunders, hastily to disband his army, and dissemble for a time his attempted subjugation of Scotland.²

The bishop presently regained his freedom on taking another oath of fealty to Edward, and during the king's renewed campaign in 1301, when he spent a fortnight at Glasgow,³ it is possible that Wishart was present to receive him. Probably because the castle was still in ruins Edward resided, during his stay, at the monastery of the Blackfriars, but he frequently made his devotions in the cathedral, and once and again gave offerings there, at the high altar and the shrine of St Mungo.⁴ But before long the restless prelate appears to have renewed his opposition to the designs of the monarch, and strange to say Pope Boniface then addressed a letter to him, calling him the "prime mover and instigator of all the tumult and dissension which has arisen," and ordering him to cease troubling the English king.⁵

Neither the command of the Pope, however, nor the bribes and threats of Edward sufficed to restrain Bishop Robert. Wallace, it is true, was betrayed and seized by Sir John de Menteith at Robroyston,⁶ almost under the walls of Wishart's cathedral; but it was seven years since the hero had taken part in public affairs, and the bishop probably knew nothing of his vicinity. The cruel

¹ Hemingford, ii. 134.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 189; Fordoun, lib. xi. cap. xxxvi.

³ "Rotuli Scotiæ," i. 53.

⁴ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No 548.

⁵ Rymer, Ides of August 1302.

⁶ Wyntoun, viii., xxii.; Fordoun, lib. xii. cap. viii.; "Chron. Lanercost," *sub anno* 1305; "The Book of Wallace," vol. ii. p. 230.

fate of his former comrade in arms, however, must have roused the indignation of the prelate. He had also, possibly, a private grievance against the enemies of his country, for part of the reward to Menteith is said to have been a grant from Edward I. of the temporalities of the bishopric of Glasgow in Dunbartonshire, of which Bishop Robert was deprived.¹ Scarcely, at any rate, were the limbs of Wallace cold on the walls of Perth and Aberdeen, when Wishart was once more, and for the last time, in arms. On 10th February 1305-6 Bruce slew the Red Comyn at Dumfries. Retreating after the deed to Lochmaben, he sent letters to apprise his friends, and among the first of those to join him was Bishop Robert.² The little array rode first to Glasgow, and men's hearts must have beat hard as the cavalcade came up the street of the bishop's burgh. The leader had slain his man on the steps of the altar, and over his head hung not only the vengeance of the English king, but the thunders of papal excommunication. In full knowledge of all this, Wishart absolved Bruce from his deed five days after the event; from his own wardrobe furnished robes of state for the occasion, and proceeding to Scone, crowned Robert with his own hand.³ This was on 27th March 1306. Three months later Bruce was defeated at Methven,⁴ and Wishart, who had been present in the battle, was taken, clad in mail, in the castle of Cupar in Fife.⁵ The fact that he was a churchman alone saved his life. Besides the part he had played in absolving and crowning the king, it was remembered against him that

¹ Palgrave's "Transcripts," quoted in Roger's "Book of Wallace."

² Rymer, April 5, 1306; Tytler, *sub anno*.

³ Tytler, *sub anno*. Bull of Clement V. excommunicating Bruce; Rymer, May 18, 1306. The Papal Registers contain a summons from Clement for Wishart to appear at Rome to answer for his conduct. In the event of his failure to comply he was to be given in custody to Bishop Bek of Durham.—"Chron. Lanercost," notes, p. 410.

⁴ Fordoun, lib. xii. cap. xi.

⁵ Tytler.

he had gone about the country preaching against Edward and in favour of Bruce, and at an earlier period had used the Ettrick oaks granted by Edward to build a spire for the very different purpose of constructing engines of war against that king's castle of Kirkintilloch.¹ Withal, while the lay barons taken by Edward were barbarously disembowelled, hanged, and beheaded, Wishart was cast into prison at Porchester,² where he languished till after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. The esteem in which he was held by King Robert is marked by the fact that Wishart was one of the first to be released. He was exchanged, along with the Queen and Princess, for the Earl of Hereford, captured in Bothwell Castle. By that time he was blind, and he died two years afterwards.³ His ashes rest in the Lower Church of his cathedral.⁴

At the same time as Wishart, the Archdeacon of Glasgow, John Wishart, was also Edward's prisoner in England, and to punish both, as well as to further his own ends, the English king wrote to the Pope asking that Geoffrey de Mowbray be appointed to the see.⁵ His desire, however, was not granted.

Nor was this the last effort of the English kings to interfere with the bishopric, and so strike at King Robert through the Pope. Edward II. wrote to Rome complaining of Bishop Robert, with what result is unknown.⁶ On the death of Wishart, again Bruce's chamberlain, Stephen de Dundimore, a canon of Glasgow,

¹ "Documents of Scotland," p. 348, quoted by Innes, "Reg. Epus. Glasg." p. xxxvi.

² Rymer, "Fœdera," ii. 1016. Two petitions for mitigation of imprisonment addressed by Wishart to Edward II. are preserved in the Tower, and printed in the appendix to the "Chronicon de Lanercost," p. 524.

³ "Chron. de Lanercost," p. 229; Barbour's "Bruce," ed. Skeat, Bk. xiii. line 685.

⁴ It is worthy of note that the other great ecclesiastic to whom Bruce owed indispensable countenance and support, Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews, had been chancellor of the Cathedral of Glasgow till his elevation in 1297.

⁵ Rymer, Oct. 4, 1306.

⁶ "Chron. de Lanercost," notes, p. 410.

was elected to the bishopric. Whereupon Edward desired the Pope to prevent his consecration. The matter, however, never came to a refusal, for Dundimore died on his way to Rome.

Third after Dundimore came another chamberlain of the king. Besides holding this high office John de Lindesay was also a prebendary of Glasgow, and he was presented to the see by Bruce himself. For this favour he appears to have made but small return, preferring, in most cases, his own interest to that of the state; though his last appearance in Scottish history seems to have been heroic enough. On Lindesay's consecration the Pope presented an Italian, Nicholas de Guercino, to the vacant prebend. Bruce, however, following the custom of Scotland, claimed to make the presentation, as of a benefice in the bishop's gift fallen vacant before the bishop had sworn fealty to the king. Lindesay apparently tried to resist, but Bruce was resolute, and gave the prebend to Walter de Twynham, who was duly installed and, notwithstanding the subsequent arrival of the Pope's nominee, kept his seat.¹ Differences of this kind between the rights of the king and the rights of the Pope were liable to occur under the church arrangements of that age, and they were not always settled with such firm and clear judgment as that of Bruce and his successor, the Regent Randolph.²

In his last days King Robert retired to Cardross on the Clyde,³

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 270, 289.

² An instance of Randolph's justice is given by the continuator of Fordoun. A man who had slain a priest was brought for trial before the regent at Inverness. His guilt was acknowledged, but he pleaded that he had journeyed to Rome and obtained absolution from the Pope. Randolph, however, was resolute; the Pope, he said, might absolve a man from the spiritual consequence of his sin, but the crime against the law was another matter. The murderer accordingly was tried, condemned, and immediately executed.—"Scotichronicon," lib. xiii. cap. xviii.

³ Barbour's "Bruce," Bk. xx. l. 79, 151; Wyntoun, Bk. viii. ch. xxiii.

but though he lived no more than sixteen miles from Glasgow, and within the diocese, no record remains of his visiting the cathedral town. He granted to the bishopric, it is true, or rather to the prebendary, John Wishart and his successors, the prebend of Barlanark in free warren, confirmed the bishop in his possessions with warm expressions of regard, and made several small grants to the cathedral from the lands of Rutherglen and Cadzow. But he took from the chapter two of its churches, giving Eglismalesoch to Kelso, and Watstirkir to Melrose.¹ It seems strange that the king, in his last days, gave no greater favour to the burial-place of the bishop who had set the crown upon his head.

As little memorial is left of the next royal visit to Glasgow. It was when Bruce's son, David II., was a boy in France. The throne had been usurped, and Scotland overrun by Edward Balliol, who, holding Christmas at Renfrew, gave lands and castles to the country's enemies.² But the young Steward, afterwards Robert II., had escaped to Dunbarton, stormed the castle of Dunoon, and begun to make head in the west country.³ To suppress this movement, Scotland was invaded by Edward III. from Carlisle, and by Balliol from Berwick. They joined their forces at Glasgow,⁴ we are told, and held a council before proceeding to Perth. Of their reception in the bishop's burgh, however, nothing is known, and it does not appear that Edward repeated his grandfather's benefactions at the Cathedral altar. It was sufficient good fortune, perhaps, if the Cathedral escaped the fate of the Abbey of Lesmahagow and the rest of Scotland at that time.⁵

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 265, 268, 272.

² Wyntoun, Bk. viii. ch. xxviii.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ *Idem*, ch. xxix.

⁵ Fordoun, lib. xiii. cap. xxxviii.; Wyntoun, Bk. viii. ch. xxx. Some inference regarding the situation of Glasgow about that date may perhaps be drawn from a curious fact. During the restoration of the

A charter, however, is extant by which Balliol, while at Glasgow, confirmed certain grants of King John his father to the Cathedral.¹ At first Lindesay appears to have countenanced Balliol's party, for his name appears as witness to one of the disgraceful deeds in which that usurper acknowledged Edward III. as his suzerain.² Presently, however, the bishop seems to have changed sides, and betaken himself to the young King David abroad. Somewhat later, at any rate, he was captured coming from France with two ships containing much treasure and armour, as well as many noble ladies and men-at-arms, and the instruments of a treaty with that country. According to one account, in the stubborn fight with John de Ros, the English admiral, Lindesay was mortally wounded in the head ;³ but by another record, he, with the noble ladies, for grief refused to eat and drink, and died before reaching Wytsand.⁴

Lindesay's successor in the bishopric was William Raa, or Rae. Keith states that he succeeded in 1335, and as, on 8th February of that year, Lindesay is mentioned as "lately bishop,"⁵ while the see is mentioned as vacant, it is probable that Keith is right. It is possible, however, that Lindesay was not then dead, and that Rae may have been intruded by one of the arbitrary acts of Balliol in the council at Glasgow, already referred to, in the early part of that year. There is some further reason to believe that

Cathedral in the present century, fifty-eight gold coins of the breadth of a guinea, and quarter its weight, and sixty-two larger, of the time of Robert I., were found by the workmen "under the pavement, about five inches from the base of one of the pillars which divided the outer High Church from the nave."—"New Statistical Account of Scotland," 1845, vol. x. p. 502, art. Crieff, footnote.

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 249, 283.

² Rymer, "Fœdera," Feb. 12, 1334.

³ "Historia Anglicana Thomæ Walsingham" (St Alban's Chronicle, Roll Series), *sub anno* 1337.

⁴ "Chron. Lanercost," p. 291. The date is here given at the Feast of the Assumption in 1337. Hemingburgh, *sub anno* 1337, states that the bishop, having been fatally wounded in the head, died before the vessel reached port.

⁵ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 286.

this may have been the case, for when, in 1346, after the defeat and capture of David II. at the battle of Durham, Balliol scoured the country from Caerlaverock as far as Glasgow, there is no record of his having damaged either the cathedral or burgh of the bishop.¹ When also, at the same time, among other confiscations following his victory, Edward III. seized the lands



Glasgow Bridge as it appeared in 1673. From Capt. Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ."

of all churchmen whom he considered unfavourable to his interest,² the lands of the Glasgow prelate remained untouched.

According to tradition, given by M'Ure and followed by Keith, Bishop Rae, in 1345, built the bridge across the Clyde which stood at the foot of Stockwell Street till the middle of the present century. According to the same tradition, Lady Lochow solicited, and was allowed to bear, the expense of building the third of the eight arches from the northern end of the bridge. Her bust, it is said, remained in a niche of the arch till the middle of last

¹ Wyntoun, Bk. viii. ch. xl.; Tytler, *sub anno* 1346.

² "Rotuli Scotiæ," Feb. 1, 1346-7.

century. Regarding this tradition, however, Cosmo Innes has very pertinently remarked that "we should require some evidence of such an undertaking being completed in a time of so great national depression."¹ The question is debated in a learned article on the history of the bridge by Sir James Marwick in "Scots Lore" for January 1895. The chief difficulty is that, if the bridge was built in 1345, Lady Lochow could have no share in its construction. Marjorie Stewart, Lady Lochow, was the second daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, brother of King Robert III. Albany was himself only twenty-nine years of age when the bridge is said to have been built. Either, therefore, the bridge was not built by Bishop Rae, or Lady Lochow's share was a later matter. Sir James Marwick suggests as more probable that the bridge was built during the episcopate either of Bishop Glendinning, who died in 1408, or of Bishop Lauder, who died in 1425, both of these, and especially the latter, having taken deep interest in the building of the Cathedral.

Rae is not noted for having taken any very prominent part in the affairs of the country. His name does not even appear among those of the notables who ratified the treaty by which David II. was ransomed from his English captivity in 1357,² though he attended the parliament at Scone in July 1366, in which means were arranged for raising the amount of the ransom.³

But Bishop Rae had little reason to be grateful to David II. His last years were embittered by the claims and exactions of David's second queen, the beautiful but haughty and capricious Margaret Logy. She, averring what, owing to the weak fondness

¹ "Sketches of Scotch History," p. 53; "Reg. Epus. Glasg." p. xxxix.

² Rymer, vol. vi. pp. 52-56.

³ Robertson's "Parliamentary Records," p. 105, quoted by Tytler.

of the king, was possibly true enough, that she had a grant of the bishopric in part, insisted on the presentation of a living to one favourite and of church property to another. The hospital of Polmadie, in particular, she claimed as in her gift.¹

Probably, however, the most far-reaching act of Bishop Rae belongs to the year 1347. In that year he appears to have been instrumental in obtaining from the Pope a dispensation for the marriage of Robert, the Steward of Scotland, afterwards King Robert II., with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Muir, with a declaration that the children previously born to them were legitimate. Upon this dispensation the legitimacy of the entire subsequent line of the Stuart kings depended. In the absence of exact knowledge it was asserted at a later day by the historians, Hector Boece and George Buchanan, that only after the death of Euphemia Ross, his queen, did Robert II. procure the legitimation of the offspring of his previous connection with Elizabeth Muir, to the prejudice of the children by Euphemia. On the strength of this statement a slur was again and again cast upon the right of the Stuart kings, and more than one descendant of Euphemia Ross had the temerity to pretend to the Crown.² It was only in the middle of last century that Father Thomas Innes discovered

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 304, 306, 307.

² David, Queen Euphemia's eldest son, became Earl of Strathearn, while her son Robert became Earl of Athole. David, Earl of Strathearn, left an only daughter, who, marrying Patrick Graham, son of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, conveyed the earldom to him. James I., however, dispossessed his son Malise of the earldom, on the ground that the honour was confined to heirs-male. There have been those, however, who believed that jealousy of Malise as representative of the more legitimate royal line, was James's real reason. Whatever that reason, the fact remains that in the assassination of the king at Perth the Earl of Athole and the relatives of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, were chief instruments. It was on the distinct understanding that his line were the rightful heirs to the throne, and that King Robert III. had been born out of wedlock, that the Earl of Athole took part in the conspiracy (see Tytler, "Hist. Scot." *sub anno* 1436). Tytler, *sub anno* 1440, assigns as a reason for the sudden trial and execution of the Earl of Douglas and his brother David at Edinburgh, that they had taken part in a plot against

in the Chartulary of Glasgow, then at the Scots College in Paris, the charters of Robert II. founding a chaplainry in consideration of the papal dispensation for his first marriage, and the charter of John, his son, afterwards Robert III., confirming the grant; which charters prove the dispensation, marriage, and death of Elizabeth to have occurred in 1364, ten years before the death of Queen Euphemia.¹ For this service, if, as there is reason to believe, it was his, done to favour the great feudal baron of his diocese,² Bishop Rae must have his place in Scottish history.

He was succeeded in 1368 by the Archdeacon of Lothian, who was also secretary to the king. While still archdeacon, Walter de Wardlaw had taken a conspicuous share in the affairs of the nation. In the year 1363 he was one of the three commissioners appointed by the parliament of David II. to arrange a peace with England;

James II., based on the theory that the royal line, as descendants of Elizabeth Muir, were illegitimate. Again, so late as the reign of Charles I., one Graham, a member of the College of Justice, having been made Earl of Strathearn, was foolish enough to go about hinting of royal rights, and speaking of "our cousin on the throne," etc., till the matter came to the ears of the court, and the newly-given earldom was taken from him. (See Drummond of Hawthornden's "Considerations to the King," Works, edited by Sage and Ruddiman, 1711.)

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 302, 313, 314. The dispensation itself, dated 22nd November 1347, was found at a later day in the archives of the Vatican by Andrew Stewart. Cosmo Innes ("Sketches," p. 55) discusses the deed. "A fine point," he says, "has been raised by a learned writer, as to whether the papal legitimation could render the children born 'in incestuous concubinage' *capaces successionis in regnum* ("Riddell on Peerage and Consist. Law," vol. i. chap. vi.) Perhaps the modern inquirer will be better satisfied with the legislative act in their favour (Parliament 1373). But, for the zealous antiquary who does not despise such enquiries, I would suggest (1) that it is by no means proved or certain that there was not a formal marriage between the parties before the birth of those children, though the papal dispensation is bound to assume that a marriage which *ex concessis* was uncanonical did not exist. But (2) this 'incestuous concubinage,' in plain language, the connection of parties related within the fourth degree of consanguinity—which might be said if they were the great-grandchildren of cousins-german—with the other objection more shadowy still, are not impediments *lege naturæ*, nor by the law of Leviticus, but imported by the canons; and what the canons could create the authority of the papal rescript could dispense with. This the canonist and all other lawyers admitted."

² The earliest and usual residence of the Stewards of Scotland was at Renfrew, their mansion standing on a slight rise, still known as the Castlehill, on the west side of the road leading from the town to the ferry. Walter, the High Steward, was the founder, about the year 1163, of the priory of Paisley, which became the great abbey of the diocese.

and three years later he was again commissioned for the same purpose. In 1369, as Bishop of Glasgow, when the country was sinking into bankruptcy, he was once more appointed, with Sir Robert Erskine, to the same attempt.¹ His efforts on these occasions proved successful, the truce with England being prolonged in 1369 for fourteen years.² In June 1371 he was one of the three high commissioners who at Vincennes concluded a treaty with France.³ And again, ten years later he was one of the negotiators of the peace with John of Gaunt.⁴ Distinguished by such high offices, he was, in 1385, made a cardinal, as well as legate for Scotland and Ireland, by Clement VII., the anti-pope, to whom the Scottish Church adhered.⁵ He appears in his time to have been considered an authority on matters of history, for Fordoun declares that he received his account of the genealogy of David I. from "the Lord Cardinal and Legate of Scotland, and Bishop of Glasgow, the noble doctor, Walter de Wardlaw."⁶ With all his honours and ability, however, it does not appear that Wardlaw did much for his bishopric; and perhaps the only memorial of him at Glasgow is his escutcheon on the roof of the choir, with the proud words in gold, *WALTERUS CARDINALIS*.

After the death of Cardinal Wardlaw the building of the Cathedral appears to have gone forward with more expedition. In the time of his immediate successor, Matthew Glendonwyn or Glendinning, the spire, built of timber from the Luss estates, was struck by lightning and burned down, and the Bishop began

¹ Tytler, vol. i. chap. vi., from Robertson's "Parliamentary Records," pp. 100, 105, 114.

² Tytler, vol. i. chap. vii. ³ *Ibid.*, "Scotichronicon," lib. xiv. cap. xliv. ⁴ Tytler, vol. i. chap. vii.

⁵ Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 54. Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," p. 246, makes the date 1381. It has been stated also that Wardlaw owed his Cardinalate to Urban VI. in 1384.

⁶ "Scotichronicon," lib. v. cap. lx.

preparations for rebuilding it of stone. After Glendinning came Bishop William Lauder, who went on with the spire and the Chapter-house, for long called erroneously the Lauder Crypt. The next bishop, John Cameron, finished the Chapter-house, Sacristy, Lady Chapel, and Spire, and built the great tower of the Bishop's Castle, which stood till the year 1789.¹

At the same time these three prelates, as became great nobles of the Church, who were also powerful feudal lords, took a constant part in the politics of their day. Bishop Glendinning was one of the select council, chosen by the parliament held at Perth in 1398, to act with David, Duke of Rothesay, then appointed Regent of Scotland for his father, Robert III.² Bishop Lauder, while still Archdeacon of Lothian, was one of the Scottish ambassadors who concluded the treaty with France after the death of Robert III. in 1406.³ He was made Chancellor of the Kingdom in 1423, was one of the four ambassadors (another being George Borthwick, archdeacon of Glasgow) appointed by Duke Murdoch, the Scottish Governor, in August of that year, to conclude the treaty for the return of the captive James I. to his kingdom,⁴ and in 1425 was one of the three ambassadors whom James sent to France with the agreement for the betrothal of the Princess Margaret to the Dauphin Louis.⁵ Bishop Cameron, again, of the gallant house of Lochiel, was probably the ablest Scottish ecclesiastic, as he was one of the ablest men of affairs of his time. Beginning as secretary to the powerful Earl of Douglas, and presented by that patron to the rectory of

¹ Apart from architectural data, the chief evidence of the authorship of several of the additions to the fabric of the Cathedral is the appearance of the prelates' arms on their respective parts of the work.

² Tytler, *sub anno*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Rymer, "Fœdera," Aug. 19, 1423.

⁵ "Scotichronicon," lib. xvi. cap. xi.

Cambuslang, he attracted the notice of James I., on that king's return from his long captivity in England, and was at once appointed Provost of Lincluden and Secretary of State. From these two offices it was but a step, two years later, to be made Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the Kingdom. A man of shrewd foresight, he probably did more for the prosperity and improvement of his burgh of Glasgow than any bishop since Jocelin. Apart from his own building operations, which beautified the church and made the castle a fortress of consequence, he caused the canons, whose number he increased from twenty-five to thirty-two,¹ each to build manses in the burgh,² so making it at once an imposing and considerable town. He arranged also for the regular holding of commissariat courts in the burgh for the three districts of Campsie, Hamilton, and Glasgow itself, and he secured from the king the establishment of St Mungo's Fair, to be held in the burgh in January yearly. At the same time he codified the duties and arrangements of the Cathedral ministry, had an inventory made of all the books, vestments, and relics belonging to the church, and settled amicably a long-standing grievance, the clashing of the jurisdictions of the bishop and archdeacon in the diocese.³ Some of these advantages may of course be attributed to the firm and peaceful government of James I., whose resolution to make "the bush keep the cow" throughout his kingdom is so well known, but they also prove

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 340. Bishop Cameron at least formally admitted the seven new prebends. The various patrons from whom they were acquired, as the editor of the "Register" points out, could scarcely have been brought together at one time.

² *Ibid.*, No. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 341, 342, 339, 332. The diocese had two archdeacons, those of Glasgow and Teviotdale ("Chron. de Lanercost," *sub anno* 1245), and nine rural deaneries, Lanark, Rutherglen, Lennox, Kyle and Cunningham, Carrick, Peebles, Teviotdale, Nithsdale, and Annandale.—"The Ancient See of Glasgow," by Archbishop Eyre, p. 15 (Brit. Archæ. Assoc. 1888).

the wisdom and ability of the prelate he selected to fill the seat of Kentigern.¹

Glasgow by this time had become a thriving place; its three streets of quaint and stately houses—the Drygate, the High Street, and the Raton Raw,² converging at the ancient cross above the Bell o' the Brae, and to the north its richly carved cathedral and strong castle, with behind them the fair gardens and mansions of the high dignitaries of the choir. It was presently to take a further step, to become a barony regal and the *alma mater* of learning in the west. Both of these steps, once more, it owed to its bishop.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the tide of political circumstances which lifted the bishop's plain burgh of barony into the infinitely freer position of a burgh of regality. The rising distinction of the place itself may have had something to do with the change, or the desirability of being equal in rank to Durham, the old rival of Glasgow, whose bishops had long been lords palatine, with temporal baronies under them. But no doubt most was owed to the personal influence and energy of the Bishop of Glasgow himself, William Turnbull, Keeper of the King's Privy Seal. James I., the poet king, had established firm government in the country, and had paid for it in the Charter-house of Perth with his life. His son,

¹ Tytler suggests that Bishop Cameron, then Chancellor, may have had a share in the transaction of 1438 by which the queen-mother carried off her son, James II., from the power of Crichton, governor of Edinburgh Castle. Concealed in a large wardrobe chest, the prince was carried out of the castle among luggage and conveyed from Leith by boat to the queen's own dower-castle of Stirling. As if to confirm this supposition, a year later, on Crichton's regaining power, Bishop Cameron was deprived of his Chancellorship, which was appropriated by Crichton himself.—“Hist. Scot.” *sub anno*.

² In the old documents the street known now as Rottenrow is variously named Ratoun Raw and Via Ratonum. A modern etymology has assigned as a derivation “Routine Row.” But if the monkish interpretation of the name is not to be accepted, a much more likely derivation is to be found in “Route du Roi,” the language of the nobles and prelates of Scotland from the time of David I. to that of Robert Bruce having been Norman-French. Rottenrow in Hyde Park had no doubt a similar origin as the king's road to and from Westminster in early times.

James of the fiery face, was proving an equally able administrator. As in his father's case, however, his chief struggle was against the swollen power of the great barons. The Stewart king, in fact, was fighting for supremacy among feudal lords sometimes more powerful than himself. The bishops of Glasgow, on the other hand, had almost invariably been staunch supporters of the throne, and the king in his extremity found it politic to increase their power, as a counterpoise to that of the lay nobles.¹ Still another possible reason lies behind, which has never had attention drawn to it. It has been asserted, apparently upon good grounds,² that most of the conspiracies against the royal family of Scotland, up to the time of the fall of the Douglasses, were based upon the assumption that that royal family, as the descendants of Elizabeth Muir, were not the legitimate line. This idea appears especially to have furnished the pretext for the last great struggle of the house of Douglas against the throne, in which James II. found himself involved.³ At such a time the bishops of Glasgow, as custodiers of clear, and perhaps exclusive proof, in their archives, of the legitimacy of the reigning house, were at once the most natural and valuable friends of the Crown.

For all these reasons, perhaps, combined, James II., at the same moment that he threw down the gauntlet to the Earl of Douglas, by depriving him of his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom,⁴ raised Bishop Turnbull's burgh of barony into a burgh of regality.⁵

¹ It was, we know, part of the policy of James, in preparation for the great struggle, to attach to himself the ablest prelates of the church. See Tytler, *sub anno* 1449.

² Tytler, "Hist. Scot." *sub annis* 1440-41. See p. 87 *ante*.

³ At the same time the Earl of Douglas is said to have united in his own person the lines of Balliol and of Comyn, and so to have had a double pretext for himself pretending to the crown. See Tytler, note TT and footnote to vol. i. ch. vii.

⁴ "Boethius, ed. 1575, lib. xviii. p. 372.

⁵ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 356. In this charter James declares himself a canon of Glasgow Cathedral.

The king's charter, dated 20th April 1450, for the simple *reddendo* of a red rose, freed the bishops of Glasgow from all feudal service, and raised them to the position of the bishops of Durham, having barons under them. Thus Cadder became a free barony, held under the bishops of Glasgow "for ward and relief," etc. The only other known instances of such baronies held under a bishop in Scotland were the baronies of Kilconquhar in Fife, of Athcotmuir in Lanarkshire, and of Edmonstone.¹

Glasgow had not yet, however, reached the end of its benefits at the hands of Bishop Turnbull and James II. Still further to favour the prelate, James wrote to Pope Nicholas V., who, on the 7th of the Ides of January 1450-51, issued a bull constituting a Studium Generale, or University, at Glasgow. In his bull, proclaimed at the Cross of Glasgow in June of the following year, the Pope professed himself to be moved, not only by the desire of James, but by information of "the healthiness of the climate of Glasgow, and the plenty of victuals and of everything necessary for the use of man."² The University was to have the same rights and honours as the ancient University of Bologna, the Bishop of Glasgow and his successors were to be its chancellors, and the Pope willed that the new erection should "flourish in Theology, Canon and Civil Law, in Arts, and in any other lawful faculty."

James II. himself, in 1453, granted a charter of protection and

¹ See Archbishop Eyre's "History of the Ancient See of Glasgow," p. 17 (Brit. Archæ. Soc. 1888).

² It was pointed out by Lord Macaulay in his rectorial address to the students of Glasgow University in 1849, that Pope Nicholas V., to whom the University owes its foundation, was himself the greatest of the preservers and revivers of learning, "the centre of an illustrious group, composed partly of the last great scholars of Greece, and partly of the first great scholars of Italy," the founder of the Vatican library, the rescuer of the valuable intellectual treasures scattered by the wreck of the Byzantine empire, and the careful collector and introducer to Western Europe of the remains of the Greek poets and philosophers, and the historical works of Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon and Polybius.

exemption from taxes, etc., to the University, and a few months later the Bishop granted its members several further valuable



The "Aulde Pedagog" in Rottenrow as it appeared in 1848. From Stewart's
"Views and Notices of Glasgow," p. 22.

The writer of "Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times," in including the illustration given, says of it (p. 22):—"We have endeavoured, but without success, to learn something of the age and actual history of this edifice. Tradition, speaking through some of the older denizens of the neighbourhood, has reported that here was the ancient college, and this is almost all we can say about it. That it had in some manner been connected with the university in its infant years, either as the residence of the students or otherwise, is sufficiently probable, and even that it is in reality the structure so often referred to in ancient documents as the 'Aulde Pedagog' we cannot pretend to deny. It is known from an old deed preserved in the charter-room of the University that the said 'Aulde Pedagog' was situated on the south side of the Rottenrow; and if this information be coupled with the evidence of popular report, we shall not perhaps be very far wrong in looking upon this deserted ruin as the actual building which is there alluded to. . . . The college is believed to have been possessed of no buildings of its own for several years after its foundation, so that the tenement referred to as the 'Aulde Pedagog' may have been simply used as a place of residence by some of the teachers or students, and not set aside as a place of assembly for the Faculty of Arts, for which the Chapter-house of the Cathedral or that of the Blackfriars—said, in addition to the building lent by the Bishop, to have been granted for the purpose—must have proved much better adapted than the diminutive structure which this seems to have been."

The reference of the old University deed, which is dated 1524, runs as follows:—" . . . de terris tenementi et loci nuncupati Aulde Pedagog jacentibus in via Ratonum . . . ex parte australi, inter tenementum magistri Johannis Rede ex parte occidentali, et terras Roberti Reid ex parte orientali," etc.

exemptions, and the right of civil jurisdiction within the college.¹

This foundation of a university at Glasgow must be taken as significant of a new growth of culture in Scotland. Curiously enough that growth of culture may be attributed to the act of one of the country's most bitter enemies. It is well known that on the failure of all efforts to subdue and annex Scotland by warlike means, Edward III. of England fell upon a more insidious method. Professing entire friendliness, he encouraged the coming and going of Scottish merchants through his kingdom, the visits of Scottish nobles to his court, and the attendance of Scottish youth at the English universities. The last permission in particular, appears to have been largely taken advantage of during the pacific periods of the reign of Edward and his immediate successors, and if it did not bring about the political leaning towards England among the Scottish youth which Edward himself hoped, it gave a fresh and vigorous stimulus to the love of learning in the north. To this stimulus, shared by James I. himself in his long captivity at the English court, must be attributed the rise of the universities of Scotland. Hence it came about that St Andrews first, during the regency of Albany, and Glasgow forty years later, during the reign of James II., became the seats of classical learning.

The first meeting of the new University, to incorporate members and choose a rector, was held in 1451 in the Chapter-house of the Blackfriars in High Street, curiously enough the exact spot where in later days the college kirk was to stand. Upon that occasion forty members were enrolled, and Mr David Cadyow, the Precentor

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 361, 374, 375.

of Glasgow, was chosen Rector. After that time till the Reformation, the rectors, who were the conveners, being mostly canons, the meetings were generally held in the Chapter-house of the Cathedral.

By the early statutes of the Faculty of Arts again, the annual meetings of that faculty were appointed to be held at the altar of



Glasgow College before 1670, with the Church of the Blackfriars (destroyed by lightning in that year).
From Capt. Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiae."

St Nicholas. Several of the early meetings were, however, held in the Cathedral Chapter-house. In the Chapter-house also, Mr David Cadyow, the first Rector, read his lectures in Canon Law, and Mr. William of Levenax lectured on Civil Law, in 1460.¹

¹ Cosmo Innes, in his interesting essay on the University in his "Sketches of Scotch History," p. 243, considers that the meeting-place was probably the altar of St Nicholas in the lower church of the Cathedral. This was situated in the Chapel of St Nicholas in front of the Chapter-house door. There was also an altar to St John Baptist and St Nicholas at the first pillar from the roodscreen on the south side of the nave.—See "The Ancient Altars," *infra*.

From its first institution, however, though the other faculties appear to have had no separate abode, the Faculty of Arts had schools and a student residence with a common table. The building was with little doubt that long known as the Aulde Pedagog in the



Front of Glasgow College in 1870. From a photograph by
Messrs T. & R. Annan.

Rottenrow. This house had been the manse of the parson of Luss, from whom it was acquired by the laird of that ilk. In 1459, however, the Faculty acquired from James, first Lord Hamilton, a plot of land in High Street, to which, in 1475, was added Sir Thomas Arthurlee's property on the north, and, after the Reformation, the convent of the Blackfriars itself on the south. In the buildings

gradually erected on these sites, and rebuilt in 1632, the University of Glasgow had its home till 1870, when it removed to the present unrivalled site on Gilmorehill.

It is somewhat curious to reflect that in 1453 while the clergy of Glasgow Cathedral were labouring to place their infant University on a solid basis and in working order, Byzantium was being taken by the Turks. The rich scholarship of the eastern empire, surviving the devastation of the West, had long been shut up there. This, on the fall of the city, was scattered broadcast over Europe, to bring about in the south the Renaissance, and in the north the Reformation, which, a hundred years later, was to sweep away the whole resplendent fabric of the mediæval Church in Scotland.

Meanwhile the glory of that mediæval Church was certainly at its zenith. Of its wealth and power no better illustration is to be found than that furnished by the records of the Glasgow bishopric. Lords of immense possessions throughout the country, which were constantly being added to by natural growth and by the munificence of the pious, and with a train, the longest in the land, of churchmen, most of them wealthy feudal dignitaries; with a castle which was one of the "keys of the country," and a flourishing burgh regal and University at Glasgow, a stately residence in Edinburgh, and palaces at Partick, Lochwood, Ancrum, and Carstairs;¹ and holding,

¹ The first Bishop Beaton's Edinburgh house is still pointed out at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd. At Partick the Bishop's Manor stood on the right bank of the Kelvin, near its confluence with the Clyde. The lands belonging to the Manor made up a goodly estate, and from the Gushet House of Anderston to Balshagrie and Jordanhill, the bishops could walk on their own land all the way. Some interesting particulars of the history of these lands are given in an article on Balshagrie in the *Regality Club Papers*, second series, p. 95). There is a tradition, that at the Reformation a quantity of the Church plate was buried in the neighbourhood. Jordanhill, it is said, owes its name to the Knights Templar, some of whom settled at the village now known as Temple, and saw in the district some resemblance to the valley of the Jordan. The village of Knightswood, to the west, is said to take its name from their hunting forest (see the *Episcopal Church Year-Book* for 1898). Lochwood, again, the country-seat where Bishop

as a general rule, one or other of the highest offices of state, the Bishops of Glasgow, from the middle of the fifteenth till the middle of the sixteenth centuries, were among the greatest nobles in the land. Without doubt the climax of their fortunes was reached in the year 1450. In that year, besides the founding of the University and the acquisition of the charter of regality, the bishopric shared in the advantage of the healing of the great papal schism. In consequence of this last a general jubilee was proclaimed, and penitential visits and offerings at the Cathedral of Glasgow declared equally meritorious with those at Rome.¹

Meanwhile James II. had an opportunity of ascertaining that his favours to Bishop Turnbull had not been ill bestowed. In the spring of 1455 the treasons of the House of Douglas had drawn to a head, and the Earl, fortified by a league with the English Yorkists, was preparing to strike a fatal blow at the Crown, when the King suddenly astonished his enemies by the evidence of his foresight and readiness for action. Storming and destroying the castle of Inveravon, he marched to Glasgow. There, lodging no doubt in the Bishop's castle, he gathered about him the whole strength of the

Cameron died amid, if Buchanan and Spottiswood were to be believed, such awful portents, stood on the south side of the Bishop Loch, a small sheet of water some six miles to the east of Glasgow, one of the chain of small lochs of which Frankfield and Hogganfield are perhaps best known. At the Reformation Lochwood was seized by the Duke of Chatelherault. In March 1572-3 it was granted to Boyd of Badenheath, who is said to have demolished it (M'Ure, Chalmers's "Caledonia," 1824, vol. iii. p. 639), though in 1598 the manor of Lochwood was restored to Archbishop Beaton by Act of Parliament. Ancrum was one of the most ancient possessions of the Church of Glasgow, belonging to the see as early as the date of David's Inquest in 1121. At the residence there Bishop Bondington died in 1258, and traces of the gardens and a portion of the house itself were visible till recently (Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 67). At Carstairs, or Casteltarris, as it was then called, Bishop Robert Wishart began to rebuild a mansion without royal permission in the interregnum after the death of Alexander III. From Edward I., however, he received a licence to complete it in stone and lime ("Rotuli Scotiæ," July 15, 1292). The residence stood at the spot known as "Columby," and several entries regarding the manor occur in the Rental Book ("Diocesan Registers of Glasgow"). On the ground, however, nothing now survives but the name. (Eyre's "Memoir of Archbishop Beaton," p. 13.)

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 359.

western counties, as well as of the Highlands and Isles. Then, bursting into Avondale and Douglasdale, to which Glasgow was the key, he wasted in succession with fire and sword the territories of his chief enemies, the lords of Hamilton and Douglas.¹ A few weeks later, owing to the prestige and terror thus gained by the King, no less than to the negotiations of Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews,² Douglas saw his army, embattled on the Carron, melt from him in a night, and the Douglas treason was at an end.³ It is doubtful whether Bishop Turnbull was still alive to welcome James on this memorable visit to Glasgow. According to M'Ure he died 3rd September, 1454, and according to the contemporary "Short Chronicle of the Reign of James II." on 3rd December, 1456.⁴ But there can be no doubt that, whether he was alive or dead, his loyalty to the king, by affording a safe gathering place on the threshold of the disaffected districts, was a chief means of giving James the advantage in the struggle.

As a last effort on behalf of Douglas the Lord of the Isles raised a large fleet and ravaged the islands of Bute, Arran, and Cumbrae, with Inverkip and the neighbouring shores of the firth,⁵ but owing to the energy of the king the destroyers penetrated no further. The bishopric of Glasgow, at any rate, appears to have suffered no hitch in its prosperity, and Bishop Andrew Muirhead, Turnbull's successor, filled a high place in the affairs of the state. He was one of the Commissioners sent by James II. in 1457 to confirm the truce and

¹ "Auchinleck Chronicle," p. 53.

² To this justly famous prelate, the greatest Scottish statesman of his time, was due much of the wisdom of the reign of James II. He was son of a daughter of Robert III., and so cousin to James II.

³ Pinkerton, "Hist. Scot." Appendix i. 486, 487.

⁴ "Auchinleck Chronicle," p. 55. No bishop of Glasgow appears among the church prelates who appended their seals to the Act forfeiting Douglas, at Edinburgh in June 1455.—"Act. Parl." vol. ii. p. 77.

⁵ "Auchinleck Chronicle," p. 55.

treaty with Henry VI.,¹ which immediately afterwards, on the defeat of Henry at Northampton by the Yorkists, led to the campaign in which the Scottish king met his death. A member of the regency during the minority of James III.,² he was also one of the Scottish ambassadors, who, on the final defeat of the party of Henry VI. at Hexham, concluded a fifteen years' truce with the Yorkist king of



St Nicholas Chapel in 1780. From a drawing (reproduced in Stewart's "Views and Notices of Glasgow"). The building was pulled down in 1808.

England, Edward IV.³ By the Scottish Parliament of 1466, controlled by the faction of the Boyds, he was commissioned with the same colleagues to treat for the marriage of the boy-king, James III.⁴ And three years later he was one of the ambassadors who actually negotiated the marriage of the royal boy with the Princess Margaret

¹ Tytler, *sub anno*.

³ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 510; Tytler, *sub anno* 1463.

² Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 60.

⁴ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 549.

of Denmark, and succeeded at the same time in securing the practical cession of the Orkney and Shetland islands to the Scottish Crown.¹ Within his own cathedral, at the same time, moved no doubt by the growing prosperity of the bishopric and the consequent demand for a more elaborate and stately ritual, Bishop Muirhead founded the college of Vicars Choral.² And outside the wall of his castle garden, at the south-west corner, he erected and endowed the Bishop's Hospital, which he dedicated to St Nicholas, and on which, according to M'Ure, he placed his family arms. The northern aisle of the Cathedral was also roofed in during his episcopate.³

During the minority of James III., the old claim of York's supremacy over the Scottish Church was once more raised by Archbishop Nevill. The claim was resisted by Patrick Graham, Bishop of St Andrews, a grandson of Robert III., who pled to such effect at the Papal Court that Sixtus IV. once more proclaimed the Scottish Church independent, at the same time erecting the see of St Andrews into an archbishopric, and enjoining to be subject to it the other twelve bishoprics of Scotland. On his return home Graham found his elevation opposed by Schevez, an unscrupulous astrologer, who, supported by the king and venal judges, so persecuted the unfortunate benefactor of the Church as to bring about his death. Schevez then succeeded to the archbishopric,⁴ and, as shall be seen later, became as jealous of the new honour, as he had previously been hostile to it.

Muirhead's successor at Glasgow, Bishop John Laing, was

¹ "Act. Parl." vol. ii. p. 90; Tytler, *sub anno* 1469.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 391. See "The Hall of the Vicar's Choral," *infra*.

³ Billings, "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 4.

⁴ Spottiswood, "History of the Church of Scotland" (Bannatyne Club), vol. i. pp. 115-118.

successively Treasurer¹ and Chancellor of the Kingdom. In 1476 he obtained a charter from James III. extending the jurisdiction of the Bishop's regality of Glasgow, and confirming to the Bishop powers "to constitute and appoint provosts, bailies, sergeants, and other officers within the said city, for the management and government of the same, as often as shall seem expedient to him, and to appoint to and remove from these offices such persons as he shall think proper."² From this charter can be seen how completely the rights of the burgh and burghers were vested in their lord the Bishop. Laing appears, notwithstanding this favour, to have adhered at a later day to the treasonous faction of the Duke of Albany, James III.'s brother, owing his Chancellorship to the temporary success of that faction, and consequent deposition for a time of the king's faithful supporter, Lord Evandale.³ Bishop Laing is said to have founded in 1476, along with Thomas Forsyth, Rector of Glasgow, and afterwards Rector of the University, the Church of the Franciscan, Minor, or Grey Friars, who had been brought to Glasgow by Bishop Turnbull in 1449. The church and monastery stood in an alley on the west side of High Street, a little higher up than the college.⁴ On Laing's death, the treasurer of the diocese, George Carmichael, Rector of Carnwath, was elected, but died on his way to Rome for consecration.

Under the next succeeding bishop, the diocese was to take its highest step in rank, and become an archbishopric. Robert Blacader, the new bishop, appointed in 1484, took an active part in the national affairs, and the wisdom and success of the embassies in which he was engaged, no less than the advantages which he secured

¹ "Treasurer's Accounts," vol. i. p. xxxi.

³ Tytler, *sub anno* 1482.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 410.

⁴ "Origin. Paroch. Scotiæ," p. 6.

for his bishopric, declare him to have been one of the ablest occupiers of the see. Previously Rector of Cardross, and a prebendary of Glasgow, he had been made Bishop of Aberdeen in 1480. It is not clear to what influence he owed that elevation, or his transference, four years later, to the see of Glasgow. James III. was at that time, however, moved to take action against the procuring of benefices at Rome without the royal nomination, which nomination the kings of Scotland held to be an inalienable right of the Crown,¹ and Blacader appears to have considered some such action of the monarch as threatening ruin to himself.² Accordingly, when in 1487, the disaffected barons set up the king's son as James IV., and concentrated their forces for the attack on the royal power, which culminated in the defeat and death of James III. at Sauchieburn, Blacader took part with them.³ He was one of the ambassadors named by the prince and the rebel lords at their first drawing together, who received a passport from Henry VII. to proceed to the English Court;⁴ and immediately after the battle at Sauchieburn, he was one of the committee, the others being the Earls of Angus and Argyll, and the Lords Hailes and Home, and the Treasurer, appointed to administer the personal possessions of the late king.⁵

The victorious party at once proceeded to apportion spoils

¹ "Act. Parl." vol. ii. pp. 173, 184.

² It is possible, however, that Blacader's action was disinterested enough. James III., as we know, was guilty in at least one instance of appropriating the temporalities of the Church. By that act, the appropriation of Coldingham to support his Chapel Royal in Stirling (Act. Parl. ii. 179, 184), he alienated the great house of Home, and it may be that disapproval of such transactions moved Bishops Laing and Blacader of Glasgow in succession to take part against him.

³ Tytler, *sub anno* 1487.

⁴ Rymer, "Fœdera," vol. xii. p. 340.

⁵ Treasurer's Accounts, p. 79. Strangely enough, only a small part of these rich accumulations ever reached the hands of James IV., and a strict enquiry was subsequently ordered into their disappearance.—"Act. Parl." ii. 230.

among themselves, lay lords like Hume and Hepburn obtaining grants of lands and privileges,¹ while Blacader's reward appears to have been no less than the erection of his see into an archbishopric. At any rate, among the first acts of the parliament convened in the name of James IV. by the victors of Sauchieburn, and entirely controlled by them, it was "concludit and ordanit that for the honour and gud public of the realme the sege of Glasgw be erect in ane archbischoprik, with sic previlegiis as accordis of law, and siclik as the archbischoprik of York has in all dignitez, emunitis, and previlegiis."² At the same time Whitelaw, sub-dean of Glasgow, was made secretary to the king.³ The new erection was violently opposed by Schevez, Archbishop of St Andrews, and also by the Chapter of Glasgow itself, the canons fearing that their own privileges must suffer from any increase of power to their bishop. But Schevez was of the late king's party, and so at a disadvantage, and the canons of Glasgow were pacified by ample guarantees of their privileges in the name of James IV. and the bishop;⁴ and accordingly the see of Glasgow was raised to metropolitan rank by a bull dated the 5th of the Ides of January 1491-2, the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, or Candida Casa, and Argyle, or Lismore, being appointed its suffragans.⁵

But whatever was Bishop Blacader's motive for supporting the revolution, it is certain that James IV., whom that revolution placed upon the throne, remained constantly his friend. Far, too, from these friendly feelings suffering abatement during the young king's spasms of remorse for the death of his father, James appears on these

¹ "Reg. Mag. Sig." *sub anno*.

² "Act. Parl." ii. 213.

³ "Reg. Mag. Sig." June 25, 1488.

⁴ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Nos. 450, 460-6, 487, 490, 496.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 457, 458.

occasions to have sought consolation under the Bishop's auspices.¹ It is true that in the great strife between Glasgow and St Andrews for the primacy, the honour was given to the older archbishopric, both prelates being warned to cease their pleas before the Papal tribunal, and submit to the decision of the king, on pain of loss of their temporalities.² But James enrolled himself as a prebendary—Canon of Barlanark and Lord of Provan—in Blacader's cathedral, again and again paid his devotions at the shrine of St Mungo, and in person fulfilled his duties as a member of the chapter.³ He confirmed and enlarged the civil rights and jurisdiction of the Archbishop, and employed him as a trusted agent in the great affairs of the realm. It speaks for the purity of Blacader's political motives that after James had turned from the counsels of the other rebels against his father he still continued to trust the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Among Blacader's employments was his commission in 1490, along with the Earl of Bothwell, to renew the ancient league with France, and to proceed to Spain and other countries to discover a suitable bride for the king.⁴ And again in 1502, with the same companion and Andrew Forman the protonotary, he was sent to conclude the treaty of marriage between James and the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England; ⁵ the success of which embassy led at a later day to the happy union of the kingdoms. The Archbishop, moreover, was the chief of the train

¹ "The rememberans of his fatheris slauchtir, quhairof he wyst lytle, percet his hart sa deip, and trublet him sa sair, that al his lyf an yrne chaynzie was his belt. . . . His use was oft to visit the clostiris, to decore thame with honorable gyftes.—Lesley's "Historie of Scotland," Bk. viii.

² "Act. Parl." ii. 232.

³ Several letters of James IV. are dated at Glasgow, and in more than one deed he styles himself a canon of the Cathedral.—"Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 463. See "Regality Club" papers, art. "Blochairn," p. 13.

⁴ "Act. Parl." ii. 228.

⁵ "Rymer, Fœdera," xii. 776, 787; Lesley, Bk. viii.

of nobles who met the youthful bride, on her coming north, at Lamberton Kirk on the Lammermuir.¹

While engaged upon such high affairs of state, Archbishop Blacader also found time to further the temporal interests of his see, and to add some of its richest and most beautiful features to the architecture of his cathedral church. He built the beautiful Rood Screen which divides the nave from the choir ; as well as the flights of steps leading up from the aisles of the nave ; and completed also the beautiful arched descents to the lower church. But the chief memorial of his building zeal is the fine crypt projecting from the south transept, known variously as Blacader's or Fergus's Aisle. There is reason to believe that this last occupies the site of the cemetery consecrated at the beginning of the fifth century by Ninian,² and it appears somewhat remarkable that the earliest consecration and the latest building effort of the mediæval church at Glasgow should be identified with the same spot. Nothing could illustrate better the change which had taken place in the circumstances of the faith than the contrast between the primitive Christian burying-place on the hillside, encircled by its belt of whispering trees, and the same spot a thousand years later, when a great prelate had surrounded and covered it in with the carved magnificence of column and vault and capital. Blacader's Aisle remains the richest, as it was the latest addition to the architecture of the cathedral.

When the archbishop obtained from the king his extension of civil jurisdiction, the terms in which the grant was couched declared that the bishop and his chapter had by that time acquired a very

¹ Tytler, *sub anno* 1503.

² See p. 11.

high place as administrators of justice among the secular colleges of the kingdom.¹ King James himself, on one memorable occasion at least, took his seat as one of the judges in the Bishop's court. The occasion was the trial, for heresy, before a Provincial Synod at Glasgow in 1494, of thirty persons of the party known as the Lollards of Cunningham and Kyle. Already, as early as 1407, John Resby, an Englishman, had suffered at Perth, for holding and teaching the doctrines of Wicliff,² and twenty-six years later, Paul Crawar, a Bohemian, had suffered for the same opinions at St Andrews.³ In 1424, a parliament of James I. enacted laws against the new heresy,⁴ and at the great council of Basle, in 1431, which was attended by Bishop Cameron of Glasgow, with the Bishop of Moray and the Abbot of Arbroath,⁵ special attention had been paid to this rising tide of error. The matter had now therefore become serious, and the thirty persons brought before Archbishop Blacader and his court stood in danger of paying for their opinions with their lives. The court, however, proved lenient, and the offending persons were dismissed with an admonition to leave speculative theories, and to abide by the orderly teaching of the Church.⁶

Less momentous, but curious and significant, was another case decided by the archbishop. In the year 1494 a Master David Dun had presumed to set up a private grammar-school within the burgh without license from the chancellor of the Cathedral, in whose office, from time immemorial, had been vested all rights of teaching

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 458, p. 464.

² Fordoun, lib. xv. cap. xx.

³ *Idem*, lib. xvi. cap. xx.

⁴ "Item anentis heretiks and lollards, that ilk bischop sal ger inquiry be the inquicione of heresy quhar ony sik beis fundyne ande at thai be punyst as lawe of halykirk requires. Ande, gyf it mistere is, that secular power be callyt thareto in suppowale and helping of halykirk."—Act Parl. ii. 7, 8.

⁵ *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 284.

⁶ Robertson, "Ayrshire Families," iii. 369.

the youth, and of appointing and removing the master of the city grammar-school. Of this infringement or contempt of his authority the chancellor, Master Martin, made complaint, and the Archbishop gave judgment in his favour, declaring Dun guilty of trespass, and interdicting him in all time to come from teaching letters of any kind within the regality without the chancellor's license sought and obtained.¹

In his last days, wearying apparently of his almost regal splendour, the heart of Archbishop Robert turned to the east, and with a yearning common to the Christians of all times he desired to look with his own eyes on Bethlehem and the Holy City. The vessel in which he sailed had reached, it is said, almost within sight of the Arabian shore, when Blacader breathed his last.²

It was, however, the most brilliant epoch of Scottish history. James IV. was at the most splendid period of his reign. Unquestioned monarch in his own realm, cousin to the king of Denmark, and son-in-law to the English king, he found himself again and again the arbiter of peace and war in Europe. His alliance was courted and his counsel sought by the kings of France and Spain, and he received and entertained at his court, with a magnificence hitherto unheard of, the ambassadors of these and the other great monarchs of Europe, not excluding even the petitioning envoy of the Pope.³ Himself no mean scholar, speaking Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, and Gaelic, besides his native Scottish, James was a great encourager of letters, listening to and remunerating not only the rugged and fiery recitals of Henry the Minstrel,⁴ but cultivating

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 470.

³ Tytler, *sub annis* 1506-1509, 1512.

² Lesley, Bk. viii.

⁴ Treasurer's Accounts to January 1492.

at his court the wit of poets like William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas.¹ For twenty years the country had been at peace, wealth was flowing into it on a full tide, and the age of chivalry and feudalism was at its height.

At the court of James, the Archbishop of Glasgow was one of the greatest nobles, and Blacader's successor in no way fell short of the figure he might have been expected to make. James Bethune or Beaton had previously been Lord Treasurer of the Kingdom² and Bishop-elect of Galloway. The treasurership he resigned on his elevation, but to support his high position, he obtained, along with the Archbishopric of Glasgow, the abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning, *in commendam*. Fortunately for him, he was not with the king, as were the Archbishop of St Andrews and so many other dignitaries of the Church, including the Dean of Glasgow, on Flodden Field.³ At the parliament which was held at Perth immediately after Flodden, he and the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Angus were appointed to direct the councils of the Queen-regent;⁴ and it was he who immediately, in Stirling Castle, set the crown on the head of the infant James V.⁵ He does not appear, however, to have been strong enough or perhaps skilful enough to cope with the disturbances of the time, for during the nominal rule of the Queen, Scotland fell to a state of chaos, and, especially on the Borders, even the revenues and benefices of the Church

¹ An interesting and particular account of James and Scotland at that time is to be found in a letter from the Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro de Ayala, to King Ferdinand, dated London, July 25, 1498, printed by Mr. Bergenroth in his *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, 1862-8. See also "The Days of James IV," arranged in extracts from contemporary writers, by G. Gregory Smith, M.A., 1890.

² "Accounts of Lord High Treasurer," p. xxxiii.

³ Tytler, 1513; Pinkerton, vol. ii. appendix No. x. The Archbishop of St Andrews was James's own natural son, Alexander Stewart.—Ridpath, "Border History," p. 494.

⁴ Lesley, Bk. ix.

⁵ Pitscottie, p. 216.

were subjected to plunder.¹ Possibly it was no small relief to him when in May 1515 the Duke of Albany, cousin of the late king, and the natural regent of the country, returning from France with a squadron of eight ships, cast anchor at Dunbarton, and made his way to Glasgow.² Immediately on the regency being constituted, Beaton became Chancellor of the Kingdom.

Meanwhile Margaret, the Queen-mother, had married the young and handsome Earl of Angus, head of the house of Douglas, and, supported by the influence of her brother, Henry VIII., opposed the government of Albany. A second thorn in the Regent's side was the Earl of Arran, chief of the Hamiltons, another cousin of James IV., both Albany and he being grandsons of James II. This vacillating noble, thinking himself by birth entitled to equal power with the Regent, again and again took arms against him. Throughout these troubles Archbishop Beaton loyally supported the Regent, and his castle of Glasgow, which he had surrounded with a high embattled wall and strong towers, was made the *depôt* for the royal artillery in the west. Arran, having once already revolted against the Regent, and been admitted to grace, again in 1516 entered into a treasonous bond with Lennox, Glencairn, Mure of Caldwell, and other barons, in consequence of which Mure stormed and plundered the castle.³ It was at once retaken by Albany, who raised a large force and marched to the spot,

¹ Tytler, 1514. Lesley relates an incident which would show Beaton to have been of energetic spirit. Upon the queen's marriage, he states, she committed the government of the kingdom to her husband Angus. "The Archbischof of Glasgw, Chancellor of the realme, resisted, quhairfor sche, finding him in S. Jhonstoun, deprivet of the gret Seale. The Bischop sa iniuret, in a furie cumis till Edinburgh, occupis the toune and all the boundes about, gathiris his freindes intendes to hald out the quene and her housband. Of thir spunkis throuch Scotland kendlet sik a low that Angus and the Quene tuke thame to thair fute and fled to the bordouris of Ingland."—"Historie," Bk. ix.

² Lesley, Bk. ix.

³ Tytler, *sub anno*.

and Mure for his enterprise was sentenced to reimburse the Archbishop for all the damage to his property. An inventory of that damage was accordingly made out, and remains to afford an interesting picture of the interior of a great churchman's residence at that time,¹ but it is doubtful if the Archbishop ever recovered the amount.² A few months later Albany, disgusted with the turbulence of a nobility who should have supported him, retired to his estates in France, and the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, with the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Angus, and Arran, were appointed a commission of regency in his absence. Very soon, there being no sign of Albany's return, and Arran, by virtue of his relationship to the royal house, having been appointed lieutenant-general, the struggle for power, and for possession of the young king, came to lie between the houses of Hamilton and Douglas. This struggle in 1520 reached the issue of a pitched battle in the streets of Edinburgh. Of that battle, known as "Clean the Causeway," and of Archbishop Beaton's part in it, the circumstances remain among the familiar traditions of the Scottish capital. The prelate, always loyal to the government, espoused the party of Arran, with whom, indeed, he was connected by marriage.³ It was in the house of the Archbishop at the foot of Blackfriars Wynd that the leaders of the Hamiltons met in council. Thither, in an effort to keep peace, came Gavin Douglas, the poet-bishop of Dunkeld, and uncle of the Earl of Angus. Addressing Beaton, whose suffragan he was, he begged his influence as a churchman to stay hostilities. Moved to vehemence by the entreaty, Beaton, it is said, striking his hand

¹ See Mr. Millar's article "The Bishop's Castle," *infra*.

² Mure became involved in such pecuniary difficulties that in 1527 he had to mortgage Camseskane.—"Regality Club Papers," pp. 88, 89, note.

³ The earl had married his niece, daughter of Sir David Beaton of Creich.

on his breast, declared that on his conscience he knew of no hostile intentions. But the armour which the Archbishop wore under his rochet rang at the blow, and gave Douglas reason for his prompt reply: "Alas, my lord, I perceive your conscience clatters!"¹ (*Anglice*, lies). Half an hour later, the Hamilton party being everywhere routed, Beaton, chased to the high altar of the Blackfriars, was only saved, after the rochet had been torn off his back, by the intervention of Gavin Douglas himself.² A little later Beaton and Arran together only escaped seizure at Stirling by the partisans of Angus by information which gave them time to flee.³

On Albany's second retreat to France in 1523, Archbishop Beaton was again appointed one of the commission of regency,⁴ and on the duke's final departure in the following year the Archbishop was left the leading member of the government.⁵

One of the last acts of Albany before he left the country appears to have been the promotion of his loyal supporter to the Archbishopric of St Andrews, rendered vacant by the death of the primate Forman. Thenceforward Beaton's history belongs, not to Glasgow, but to the elder see; but it speaks for his honour that, on the *coup d'état* immediately afterwards effected by the Queen and the English party, Beaton, almost alone, kept his pledges to the absent Regent, refusing the bribe of a cardinal's hat which was offered him, and suffering imprisonment at the hands of the triumphant party for his fidelity.⁶

¹ Pitscottie, p. 220. ² *Ibid.*, p. 221. ³ Tytler, 1520. ⁴ *Ibid.*, *sub anno*. ⁵ Lesley, Bk. ix.

⁶ Pinkerton, ii. 241. While he refused the hat, which was offered by Wolsey, he offered Queen Margaret twenty thousand crowns for his freedom. At that time Beaton was esteemed the richest subject in Scotland. For some time afterwards he was certainly the most powerful, and it was largely by his help that James V. at last escaped from the Douglasses at Falkland (Tytler, *sub annis* 1425-8). On his death in January 1538-9 he was succeeded in the primacy by his nephew, David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, who had been made a cardinal a month before.

The new Archbishop of Glasgow was James V.'s tutor, Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whithorn. A younger son of the house of Mochrum, which represents the ancient earls of Northumberland and Dunbar,¹ the new prelate appears to have maintained from first to last the highest place in the esteem of his royal pupil.² One of the first acts of James on escaping from the Douglas domination in 1528 was to make Dunbar Chancellor in place of the Earl of Angus, who some time previously had compelled Archbishop Beaton to resign the seals.³ Two years later, to favour the prelate, he induced the Pope to annul the office of legate for Scotland hitherto vested in the Archbishop of St Andrews, and to abrogate all jurisdiction exercised by one see over the other.⁴ And it appears to have been by Dunbar's advice that in 1532 James instituted the College of Justice, now known as the Court of Session, the right to preside in which at his pleasure was, by virtue of his office as Chancellor, vested in Archbishop Dunbar himself.⁵ It was also probably owing as much to the king's esteem, as to the high position of the prelate, that Dunbar was appointed one of the regents of Scotland during James's expedition to the continent in search of a wife in 1537.⁶

By this time the spread of the Reforming tenets had begun to threaten serious disturbance both to Church and State, and the Scottish parliament had found it necessary to pass certain repressive measures. Under these in 1528, Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, and grandson of the Duke of Albany, suffered for preaching the Lutheran doctrines at St Andrews.⁷ And at Holyrood in 1534, with

¹ See Sir James Dalrymple's "Collections," p. 345; Douglas's "Baronage," p. 113.

² The king luuet him sa weil that he communicat with him the leist secreit of his hart, thairefter maid him Chancellor of the Realme.—Lesley, Bk. ix.

³ "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 11 (Bannatyne Club).

⁵ Act. Parl. ii. 335-6.

⁷ Spottiswood, Bannatyne Club ed., i. 124; Pitscottie, p. 242.

⁴ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." 494, 499.

⁶ Tytler, *sub anno*.

King James himself on the bench, clothed in the judicial costume of complete scarlet, several persons were tried, and David Straiton, a gentleman, and Norman Gourlay, a priest, were condemned to death, and burned, though the king pleaded for their lives.¹ The year 1538 saw the elevation to the cardinalate of David Beaton, commendator of Arbroath, and nephew of Archbishop Beaton of St Andrews, and his rise to power in Scotland was marked by more strenuous efforts to put down the revolutionary opinions. Four of the minor clergy and a notary were tried and condemned by Beaton himself, and died for their opinions on the Castlehill of Edinburgh in February 1538-39.² It was at the same time determined to make an example in the west country, and as Archbishop Dunbar was known to be averse to extreme measures, three assessors, of the names of Lauder, Oliphant, and Maltman, were sent to act with him. Two individuals were accordingly brought for trial before the Bishop's court, one Jeremy Russel, a member of the Franciscan or Grey Friars, of Glasgow, and the other, John Kennedy, a youth of eighteen years of age, belonging to Ayr. Kennedy is stated by Knox to have had a fine genius for poetry, and it has been suggested by Tytler that his offence may have been the composition of some of those satires against the shortcomings of churchmen, which were among the most effective weapons of the Reformers. On first confronting his judges, Kennedy, it is said, discovered some weakness, and appeared likely to recant, but on Russel exhorting him, his mind became firm, and falling on his knees, he thanked the love and mercy of God for saving him from destruction, and in an ecstasy declared that he now desired death, and was ready to endure to the end.

¹ Spottiswood, p. 130; Pitcairn, "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 210*.

² "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 23; Knox, "Hist. Reform." ed. 1761, p. 68.

Russel argued long and learnedly with his judges, ending, according to Knox, with the peroration: "Now is your hour, and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, while we stand before you falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness. Meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities."

At these words the Archbishop is said to have been greatly moved, and to have declared that the rigorous proceedings of such courts did the Church more hurt than could be well thought of. He declared himself desirous to spare the lives of the two men, and to take some other course with them. But the assessors told him frankly that if he followed any milder course than that taken at Edinburgh, he could not be considered the Church's friend. He was compelled accordingly to give way, and the two men were condemned, and handed for punishment to the secular authorities.

The place of this memorable trial and capital sentence was possibly the Chapter-house, but more likely the Consistory House, now removed, at the west end of the cathedral. According to law, the punishment for heresy was the same as that awarded to females of high rank convicted of treason or murder—death at the stake.¹ Russel and Kennedy accordingly suffered death by fire, the place of their execution being at the east end of the cathedral. "When they were brought to the place of their suffering, they used not many words, but commended their souls to God. After they were tied to the stake, they endured the fire constantly, without expressing any token of fear or amazement."²

¹ Pitcairn, *Trial of Lady Glamis*.

² The case is narrated with all the details above given, and others, by Knox, "*Hist. Reform.*" 1761, p. 68; also by Pitcairn, "*Criminal Trials*," i. 215.

It says much both for the wisdom and humanity of Archbishop Dunbar that the lives of these two men were the only ones taken for the cause of the Reformation at Glasgow.

Another of his acts was no doubt urged by the desire to prevent the spread of opinions which led to these, and, in his mind, other more lasting and dreadful consequences. In a parliament of 1542, Lord Maxwell proposed that it should be declared legal to use the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. The motion was opposed strongly by Dunbar, in his own name and the names of all the prelates in parliament.¹ It passed into law notwithstanding.

From first to last the gentle Archbishop appears to have been treated with no more than scant courtesy by Cardinal Beaton. The latter succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of St Andrews in 1539, and from that date appears to have carried matters with a high hand. Notwithstanding the great influence of the Cardinal, Dunbar continued to hold the Chancellorship of the Kingdom till after the death of his royal master in 1542. But upon that event the Earl of Arran became Regent, and Beaton, who was his relative by marriage, secured the seals.²

This, however, was the least of the troubles which the death of James V. entailed on Glasgow. The dissensions of a royal minority in Scotland were seized upon by Henry VIII. as favourable to his plans—the conversion of the country to the Reformed faith, and the betrothal of the infant Queen Mary to his son, afterwards Edward VI. By a system of intrigue carried on by his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, he first tried to suborn the nobles of Scotland. This method failing through the energy of Cardinal Beaton, he sent Lord

¹ Act. Parl. ii. 415 ; "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 506.

² Maitland, "Hist. and Antiq. of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 854. For the relationship, see footnote, p. 113, *supra*.

Hertford with an army into the Forth, who burned Edinburgh and destroyed all Scotland southward to the Border. At the same time, Henry appears to have encouraged a plot for the assassination of his opponent, the Cardinal, then the ruling spirit in Scottish affairs.¹ Outraged by the ruthlessness of such proceedings, all Scotland recoiled from the proposals of the English king. Two nobles only remained in the English interest—the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn. At Carlisle, on 17th May, while the embers of Hertford's conflagration were hardly yet extinguished, these earls agreed with Henry VIII. to acknowledge him as Protector of Scotland, and to do their utmost, not only to further the interests of the Reformed faith in the north, but to deliver into his hands the chief castles of the country, and the person of the young queen herself. In return, Lennox was promised the Governorship of Scotland and the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas, niece of King Henry, while Glencairn and his son, the Master of Kilmaurs, were to receive an ample pension.² Hastening to their estates in the counties of Renfrew and Dunbarton, the earls raised a force, and seized and fortified the Bishop's Castle of Glasgow. Inspired, however, by the Cardinal's energy, Arran, with a thousand men, at once marched against them. On the Regent's appearance, Lennox, it seems, fled to Dunbarton; but Glencairn drew up his force in order of battle on the Gallow Muir, a mile to the east of the cross. In his array appeared not only the burgesses of the city, under their provost, the Laird of Minto, but, strange to say, a number of the churchmen of the place. This fact told against Glasgow in the issue. The Battle of the Butts, as it was called, is described by Lesley,³

¹ Tytler, *sub annis* 1544-5; also Notes and Illustrations, item "The Assassination of Cardinal Beaton." See also Spottiswood, Bannatyne Club edition, vol. i. pp. 230-31.

² Rymer, vol. xv. pp. 23-26.

³ "Historie," Scot. Text Soc., ii. p. 272. See "The Bishop's Castle," *infra*.

and was evidently a stubborn and bloody fight. But at last Glencairn was forced to retreat, leaving his second son dead on the field, and among others slain and hurt, Stewart, the provost, badly wounded. Immediately afterwards Arran took the castle and steeple, which had also been fortified, hanged the defenders, plundered the town, and threatened to reduce the whole place to ashes. The city owed its preservation on that occasion solely to the entreaty of Lord Boyd.

Besides this injury to his burgh at the hands of the party of Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop Dunbar was made to suffer a more personal affront. The authority of St Andrews over Glasgow was, as we have seen, abrogated in 1530, but on the occasion of a visitation to Glasgow in 1544, Beaton seems still to have asserted a right of precedence over the Archbishop in his own cathedral. The occurrence has been seized upon by Knox as a subject for his characteristic satire. "Cuming furth, or ganging in (all is ane) at the Quier dure of Glasgow Kirk, begane stryving for stait betwix the twa croce beiraris; sa that fra glouming they came to schouldring, from schouldring they went to buffetis, and fra dry blawis be neiffis and nevelling, and than for cherities saik, thay cryit *Despersit, dedit pauperibus*, and assayit, quhilk of the croces war fynest mettell, quhilk staff was strongest, and quhilk beirar could best defend his Maisteris pre-eminence; and that thair sould be na superioritie in that behalf, to the ground gangis bayth the croces. And than begane na littill fray; bot yit a mirrie game, for rocketis war rent, tippetis war torne, crounnis war knypsit, and syd gounis mycht have bein sein wantonellie wag fra the ae wall to the uther.¹

When, in June 1544, a month after the Battle of the Butts, the

¹ "History of the Reformation," Bannatyne Club, i. 146; "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 39; "Reg. Epus. Glas." No. 500.

government of the country was contended for by two factions, it is little marvel to find Dunbar heading the party of the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, while the chief supporter, or rather director, of Arran's party, was the Cardinal.¹

Two years later, George Wishart was burned at St Andrews,² and Cardinal Beaton was murdered by the daggers of Wishart's friends, who had long plotted his destruction. With the previous burning of the houses of the Black and Grey Friars at Dundee, at Wishart's instance,³ may be said to have begun the fires of the Reformation, which were to leave standing no cathedral on the mainland of Scotland excepting Glasgow alone. But of that conflagration, Archbishop Dunbar saw no more than the beginning. A year after the death of his great rival, he himself passed away, and was buried magnificently in the choir of his cathedral.⁴ Of the Archbishop's benefactions to the cathedral and the diocese, an account will be found on a later page.⁵

The great change of the Reformation was now hastening upon Scotland. While many of the lower classes of the country dis-

¹ See extract from document in the State-paper Office printed by Tytler in his Notes and Illustrations, item "The Diurnal of Occurrents."

² Knox states that Dunbar was present at the trial of Wishart, "satt nixt to the Cardinall, voted and subscrivit first in the ranck, and lay ower the East blokhous with the said Cardinall, till the Martyre of God was consumed by fyre."—"Hist. Reform." (Bannatyne Club) i. 148.

³ Tytler, *sub annis* 1544-46.

⁴ An account of the discovery of Dunbar's remains in 1856 was given in the "North British Daily Mail" for 26th May of that year. The account is reprinted, and later information added, by Dr. Gordon, in "Glasghu Facies," Div. i. p. 78. The skeleton, lying east and west, exactly between the two eastmost columns on the south side of the choir, was that of a man six feet in height. The workmen at the restoration of the choir having omitted to replace the remains before the spot was covered up, the bones "were subsequently deposited in a hole dug for their reception at the foot of the steps leading from the great western entrance into the Cathedral."

⁵ See Dr. Gordon's "Catalogue of the Bishops, Archbishops, and Ministers," also "The Bishop's Castle," *infra*.

interestedly and in good faith adopted the doctrines for which Patrick Hamilton, Jeremy Russel, and George Wishart had been burned, the nobles, it is to be feared, were moved rather by bribes of English gold, and by the prospect of dividing the lands and rich possessions of the Church. The new opinions, moreover, were backed by the invading armies of England. Alarmed by these signs of the time, and able to put faith in no man, the Churchmen themselves were fain to take up arms. At the battle of Pinkie a large body of priests and monks appeared in the Scottish army, and were cut to pieces by the English bills; and in the later battle on the Nith many priests and friars had places in the ranks, and, being taken prisoners, were subsequently threatened with halters at Carlisle.¹ In the chaotic state of the country even the Governor Arran turned the rich possessions of the Church to political account. To Sir George Douglas, we know, by way of securing his allegiance, he offered "an abbey of another thousand crowns by year";² and such bargains were of common occurrence.

It seems to have been by one of these arrangements—to secure the influence of the greatest house in the north—that, on the death of Archbishop Dunbar, the archbishopric of Glasgow was given to Alexander Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly. The act of his institution, however, was not made out till 5th March 1550, and it does not appear that he was ever consecrated.³ The reason may be found in the politics of the time. Dunbar died in April 1547, and Gordon was probably "elected" shortly afterwards. But at the battle of Pinkie, on 10th September, the Earl of Huntly was taken prisoner,

¹ Tytler, 1547-48.

² Tytler, Notes and Illustrations, item "State of Scotland after the Battle of Pinkie."

³ There is a gap in the Rental Book of the diocese from 1547 to 1552, during Gordon's episcopate.—"Diocesan Registers," i. 140, note.

and to secure his liberty yielded allegiance to the English king.¹ From that time Arran and Huntly were unfriends, and though the latter committed no further act against Scotland, he took part with the queen-mother in her intrigues against the Governor in the autumn of 1450. While the queen-mother and Huntly were absent in France and England, on the furtherance of their intrigue, Arran appears to have found means to induce Archbishop Gordon to resign ; appointing in his room one who, by family tradition and relationship, was more likely to be a supporter of the Regency. To avoid a scandal, or, what was more to be dreaded, an open rupture with Huntly and the queen-mother, who returned immediately and united in friendly administration with Arran, the Regent conferred on Gordon the Bishopric of Argyle and the Abbacy of Inchaffray *in commendam*, and procured for him from the Pope the title of Bishop of Athens.

Archbishop James Beaton, who now succeeded at Glasgow, had been bred to the Church by his uncle, the great Cardinal. The latter had him appointed Rector of Campsie before he was of the age required by the canons, and resigned to him the Abbacy of Arbroath, to which he was admitted two days after the Cardinal's murder.² At the date of his elevation to the Archbishopric he was no more than twenty-seven years old, and it is characteristic of church and state affairs at the time that all these high ecclesiastical honours had been conferred on one who was not yet even a priest. Proceeding to Rome, however, he was elevated through the seven orders of the priesthood in five days, and consecrated Archbishop a month later.³

¹ Tytler, Notes and Illustrations, item "State of Scotland after the Battle of Pinkie."

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg." 505, 507.

³ "Memoir of Archbishop James Beaton," by Archbishop Eyre, 1891.

By this time, probably owing to the spread of the Reformation tenets, the burgh of Glasgow had apparently begun to show some restlessness under the rule of the archbishops. By the charter of James III. in 1470 the sole right to appoint provost, bailies, and other officers, belonged to the Bishop, and to confirm this right anew, on the first occasion of his exercising it, Beaton took care to preserve a record of the transaction. The instrument, dated 3rd October 1553, under the hand of John Hamilton, notary, sets forth how "an honourable man, Andrew Hamilton of Cochna, provost, and all the rest of the council of the city, came into the inner flower garden beside the palace, where the Most Reverend Father was conversing with some canons of his Chapter. They brought with them a paper schedule on which were inscribed the names of some of the most worthy and excellent men of the city, and, handing it to him, asked which two the Most Reverend Father wished to appoint magistrates for the coming year." The Archbishop chose two, whereupon the provost and council, promising to follow his instructions, withdrew to their Tolbooth.¹

Revolution, however, was in the air. Only a year later Beaton found it necessary to sue the burghers for alleging themselves to be infeft in certain privileges by former bishops and kings, and for refusing to pay certain bishops' dues. And the change of mind in the country may be gathered from the fact that in the suit the burgh was assoilzied.²

The Archbishop of Glasgow was still, however, one of the greatest barons of the realm, and in 1557, accordingly, Beaton was

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." 523; Marwick's "Charters and Documents," part ii. p. 119.

² "Archiv. Civit. Glasg." Dec. 10, 1554; Marwick's "Charters and Documents," part ii. p. 121.

at the head of the Commission sent by the Scottish Parliament to make the final arrangements and attend the marriage of the young Queen Mary with the Dauphin of France.¹

But John Knox had returned from Frankfort and Geneva in 1555, and his mocking rhetoric and fiery zeal were a brand cast upon the dry stubble of public thought. At first his boldness merely excited contempt in the higher powers. When he had the temerity to address a letter to the Queen Regent, calling the Catholic faith a mortal pestilence, and exhorting her to protect the reformed preachers and give ear to their doctrine, Mary of Guise, it is said, took the letter from the Earl of Glencairn, glanced curiously through it, and passed it to Archbishop Beaton with the words "Pray you, my lord, to read a pasquil!"² Before the first breath of persecution Knox even fled, accepting a call to a prosperous charge in Geneva. But in December 1557, the Articles of the Congregation, the great document of Protestantism in Scotland, were signed.³ Eighteen months later, in May 1559, Knox came back, and by his memorable sermon in the great Kirk of St John, which still stands in Perth, effectually set alight the fires of destruction. The religious houses of Perth were first to fall—the monasteries of the Grey Friars, the Black Friars, and the Carthusians, and soon "the rascal multitude," as Knox himself calls them, were busy at wreck and plunder throughout the land.⁴

In 1557, to fortify himself against the storm that was coming, Beaton entered into a bond with the Earl of Arran, now Duke of Chatelherault, appointing him bailie of the regality for nineteen years, Chatelherault pledging himself in return, "having considera-

¹ Act. Parl. ii. 502-504; "Diocesan Registers," pref. p. 28.

² Knox, "Hist. Reform." i. 252.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 302; Spottiswood, i. 226, "Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ," ii. 146-151.

⁴ Knox, "Hist. Reform." (Bannatyne Club) i. 322.

tion of this perilous time, when detestable heresy rises and increases in the diocese of Glasgow, to repress it after our power, and to be bound to defend the Archbishop, his Chapter, and privileges, against all persons except the Queen's Grace.¹ In 1559 a Provincial Council, summoned by Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, to reform the abuses of the Church, sat at Edinburgh from 1st March till 10th April. It was attended by Archbishop Beaton, and by it many wise and salutary measures were enacted.² But these came too late. The Council rose, appointing Septuagesima Sunday, 1560, as the date of the next Synod. But that Synod was never to meet.

In June, three months after the rising of the Council, the ancient Abbey of Scone was burnt, Perth, Stirling, and Edinburgh were in the hands of the Reformers, and the country was in a state of civil war.³ In August, by order of the Congregation, Paisley Abbey was purged and suppressed by Glencairn and Erskine of Dun.⁴

Early in 1560 the monasteries of Aberdeen were plundered and demolished, and at Glasgow, Chatelherault, having himself become a chief of the Protestant party, forgetting his bond, along with the Earl of Glencairn, sacked the churches, and took possession of the Bishop's Castle. The duke also made a proclamation, purporting to be by authority of Francis and Mary, conferring entire power upon the Lords of Congregation.⁵ At the request of Beaton, the Queen Regent sent a body of troops under Lords Semple, Seaton, and Ross, at whose approach the rebels fled and order was restored. But Scotland was no longer safe. On 2nd April an

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 526; Marwick's "Charters and Documents," ii. p. 125.

² "Bellesheim," ii. 240-250.

³ Knox, "Hist. Reform." i. 361.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 167.

⁵ Keith, "Hist." i. 111.

English army in support of the Reformers, crossed the border at Berwick,¹ and the Archbishop, taking the opportunity of some troops leaving for the continent, gathered together the church plate, vestments, and valuables, the ancient muniments and registers of his diocese, and departed for France never to return.

On 10th June Mary of Guise, the Queen Regent, died. On 1st August the Estates met to abolish the jurisdiction of the Pope, to disestablish the Catholic Church, and to render penal the saying of mass. On 20th December the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church met. And in 1567 the Estates recognised it as the National Church of Scotland.

The Archbishop, on going away, left a steward, William Walker, to manage the temporalities of the see, and the Rental Book shows that he continued to enter tenants, draw rents, and transact business till 15th October 1570.² The burgh, however, saw an opportunity for freedom. By a notarial instrument, dated September 1561, it is declared that search had been made for the Archbishop in order to elect magistrates, and that, he not being found, it was protested that the Council might themselves elect. Elect they accordingly did.³ Nor was the spoliation of the Archbishop's temporalities long delayed. Chatelherault obtained a grant of Lochwood; other

¹ Saddler, "State Papers," etc. vol. i. p. 712.

² "Diocesan Registers of Glasgow." At the general assumption of thirds in 1561, the free rent of the whole archbishopric of Glasgow was no more than £987:8:7 Scots, with 75 chalders altogether of meal, malt, bere, and horse corn, and fourteen dozen salmon, though the temporalities included Glasgow, the Bishop Forest, the Halfpenny Lands in Carrick, and six other baronies, with lesser possessions in Carrick, Lothian, and elsewhere.—*Ibid.*, i. 23.

³ Marwick's "Charters and Documents," vol. ii. p. 126. This was the first step in the achievement of the city's independence. Occasionally afterwards, as will be seen in the following chapter, the burgh was subjected to claims of superiority by the Protestant archbishops, and by the family of Lennox, heritable bailies of the regality. But successive charters, of Charles I. in 1636, and of William and Mary in 1690, confirmed and completed the freedom of Glasgow.

possessions were similarly seized by lay owners ; and the Glasgow magistrates, about 1568, took possession of the common lands—the burgh muir on the south side, and Garngad Hill on the north side of the city, and feued them to the inhabitants.¹ The see was further dilapidated by four successive Tulchan archbishops—John Porterfield, James Boyd, Robert Montgomerie, and William Erskine, and in 1587 its temporalities were annexed by the Crown.² On 3rd November 1587 the greater part of these temporalities—the lands and barony, town and burgh, of Glasgow, the baronies of Ancrum, Ashkirk, and Lilliesleaf, in Roxburghshire, the land of Bishop's Forest, Niddrie Forest, the Halfpenny Lands in Carrick, the Kirklands of Cambusnethan, and others—were granted to Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, a younger son of the family of Minto, to be held of the Crown for payment of an annual feu-duty of £500 Scots. By Stewart the lands of the barony were mostly granted in feu to the old rentallers, the former rent becoming the feu-duty. The baronies of Stobo and Eddlestoun were disposed to Maitland of Thirlstane, and the barony of Carstairs to Sir William Stewart, younger of Ochiltree.³ By Act of Parliament in 1598 Beaton was restored to his temporalities ;⁴ but he came to Scotland no more, he was reinvested in no more than the revenues of the royalty of Glasgow, the feus given off he did not recover, and they and much other property in Glasgow and elsewhere were lost to the Archbishopric and the Church for ever.

¹ Letter of the steward, Walker, to the Archbishop, quoted in Macgeorge's "Old Glasgow," p. 165.

² Act. Parl. iii. 431.

³ "Diocesan Registers," pref. pp. 29-31.

⁴ Act. Parl. iv. 169.



CATHEDRAL, LADY CHAPEL, AND CHAPTER HOUSE, FROM THE SOUTH EAST IN 897



THE CATHEDRAL AND THE MUNICIPALITY.

By JAMES PATON, F.L.S.



IT is questionable whether, in the history of Scotland, there is any event of more momentous import than the passing of the Act of Parliament in August 1560 under which the jurisdiction and authority of the Pope were abjured ; and the taking part in the administration of the mass declared to be a criminal offence “justifiable to the deid” if persisted in. The incident represented neither the end nor the beginning of the tremendous contest between the protestant and the papal forces. For more than a generation the country had been in a ferment, such as can only be excited by religious strife ; and although the Act and the preceding dealings of Parliament gave official recognition to the imperious claims of the people, the strife cannot be said to have died out till William and Mary ascended the throne of the Kingdom, one hundred and thirty years later.

The prudent Archbishop of Glasgow had taken such measures as lay within his power to cope with the storm which raged around him. With the view of entrenching his position, he had entered

into an agreement¹ with the powerful head of the house of Hamilton, the Duke of Chatelherault, whereby, in consideration of a gift of the Bailliary of the Regality of Glasgow for a period of nineteen years, the Duke undertook to repress "the dangerous and detestable heresies" which were spreading in the diocese, and to defend the most reverend father in all the privileges, rights, and immunities of his episcopal office. How the Duke failed to carry out this most weighty undertaking, we need not inquire, but the Archbishop, finding no shield in the power of a Scottish noble, and having no faith in his promises, did what was best for his own safety. A flood of protestant excitement was passing over the land; many abbeys and monasteries and some churches had already been wrecked. James Beaton prudently collected all the moveable treasures of the Cathedral, its treasured relics, its costly plate, its rich vestments, its books, and the records of the diocese, into his castle, and when opportunity afforded, with these valuables he slipped away to France under the escort of certain returning French soldiers.

Of the treasure, relics, and vestments then carried off no trace now remains. The Church records and papers which were deposited by Beaton, partly in the Scots College, and partly in the Chartreuse Convent, Paris, to a large extent perished in the destructive days of the French Revolution. They had been examined and partly copied and edited in the course of the eighteenth century, and in 1798 a quantity of papers still remained in the College, from which Abbé Paul M'Pherson was permitted to select and carry away such as he deemed valuable.² Among MSS. thus recovered, in

¹ "Charters and Documents relating to the City of Glasgow," ii. 125.

² "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis." Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1843. Preface by Cosmo Innes, p. ix.

addition to some of Beaton's own papers, there were two volumes of the original Chartulary of Glasgow, and several volumes of the later records of the Church, most of the latter now unfortunately lost. The more important papers, it is said, were, at the Revolution period, packed in barrels and confided to a confidential agent at St Omers, and it is alleged they were burned. Of the Cathedral papers carried away by the Archbishop, the two volumes of the Chartulary, deposited in Blairs College, Aberdeen, and the matter printed in the "Diocesan Registers," are all that remain.

Two other articles which went with the Archbishop have also returned to Scotland, but these were not directly related to the Cathedral. The first and more important of these objects is the ancient Mace of the University, which bears, on a modern escutcheon, this inscription, "*Haec Virga emptā fuit publicis Academiae Glasguensis sumptibus A.D. 1465: in Galliam ablata A.D. 1560: et Academiae restituta A.D. 1590.*" In 1560 the Mace was in charge of James Balfour, Dean of Glasgow and Rector of the University. The "Inventor" of the University, under date of 1614, records its recovery thus: "Quhilk Mr. James Balfure, Deane of Glasgow, Rector the yeir of God 1560, gave to the Bischop of Glasgow quho caryit the same with all the silver warke and hail juels of the Hie Kirk to Paris with him. Notwithstanding, the said staff, be the travels of Mr. Patricke Sharpe, Principal, was recoverit, mendit, and augmentit the yeir of God CIO.IO.XC, as the date on the end of the staff bears." The other memorial is the second volume of the "Biblia Latina" of R. Stephanus, printed in Paris in 1545, a work remarkable for the Calvinistic notes it contains. That it was the private property of the Archbishop is demonstrated by the impression, on the sides, of his arms, name, and motto, and the date 1552. How

this interesting volume wandered back to Glasgow cannot be discovered, but it appeared in the Bishop's Castle Collection of Scottish Memorials in the Exhibition of 1888, and is now the property of the Corporation in Kelvingrove Museum.¹ Beyond these there does not remain in Glasgow a single relic of the treasures, the records, the



Glasgow Cathedral from the South-West.

books, the fittings, and furniture of the Cathedral in pre-Reformation days.

A few days before the passing of the Act of Parliament condemning popery, an order of the Privy Council had been circulated throughout the country, which reads thus²:—

“To our Traist friendis, the * * * ,

Traist friendis, after maist harty commendacion, we pray yow

¹ A pictorial representation, with an interesting description of “Beaton’s Bible,” is given in “Scottish National Memorials,” Glasgow, 1890.—ED.

² M’Crie’s “Life of Knox,” vol. i. p. 437. (The Privy Council Records from 1554 till 1561 are wanting.)

faill not to pass incontinent to the kyrk of * * * and tak down the haill images thereof, and bring furth to the kyrkzayrd, and burn thaym oppinly. And siclyk cast down the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye. And this ze faill not to do, as ze will do us singular empleseur; and so committis you to the protection of God. From Edinburgh, the xii. of August, 1560.

Faill not, bot ze tak guid heyd,
that neither the dasks, win-
docks, nor durris, be ony ways
hurt or broken—eyther glas-
sin wark or iron wark.”

Signed

AR. ERGYLL.

JAMES STEWART.

RUTHVEN.

Of how this order was executed in Glasgow we have no record. Its execution was committed for the west country generally to the Earl of Glencairn, but naturally the Town Council of Glasgow would be looked to for the performance of the duty. In the Cathedral they would find much of the lighter work already performed; but the vast structure with its thirty-two separate altars must have needed extensive purgation, and the “images and monuments of idolatrye” would supply a blaze which must have stirred deep but widely different feelings in the minds of those who beheld it.

No record, however, of the actual doings of the Town Council exists of earlier date than 1573, and during the troublous and excited years immediately preceding much confusion must have existed in Glasgow. Various members of the old papal hierarchy, it appears, were allowed to retain their offices as well as emoluments: the Dean of Glasgow in 1588 was still the same James Balfour who in 1560 confided the College Mace to the Archbishop. The “Parson” of Glasgow was, at the Reformation, Henry, Bishop of

Ross, and to him succeeded in that office Sir Alexander Lauder. In 1566 complaint was made by the Provost and Bailies and by Mr. David Wemys that the Parson, Alexander Lauder, refused to supply bread and wine for the Communion, and he was ordered to continue the practice which had been observed by his predecessor.¹ But through all the changes and chances of the troublous ecclesiastical times which followed, amid all the conflicts from which Scottish Presbyterian organisation gradually evolved, in the face of the repeated establishment and overthrow of Bishoprics and an episcopal organisation, the Town Council of Glasgow steadily maintained a succession of ministers of the reformed faith, devoted, as far as they safely could, to the Presbyterian form of church government.

The first minister of the reformed faith in Glasgow was David Wemys, who was appointed in 1561. Till 1587 he was the sole minister of the City and Parish of Glasgow, his cure embracing the entire Barony of Glasgow, which included not only the modern City and Barony Parishes, but the now disjoined parishes of Maryhill, Springburn, Shettleston, and Calton. According to the "*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticaniae*," the original stipend of David Wemys was 240 merks (£13 : 6 : 8), paid by the town ; but an Act of the Privy Council, dated 7th May 1567, provides that the Provost and Bailies shall pay from Whitsunday of that year £80 Scots (£6 : 13 : 4 stg.) out of their own proper goods, and for their relief they were empowered to tax the inhabitants according to their ability. The remainder of the minister's stipend, as well as salary for the reader, and other Kirk charges, they were empowered to pay out of the readiest of the Kirk livings, altarages, chaplainries, prebends, etc., granted by the Queen

¹ "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland," Edin. 1877, vol. i. p. 492.

to the town. Two months earlier the Queen by charter had granted to the Town Council these Kirk livings of the City, which in turn the Council, in January 1572-3, assigned to the College.¹

If the minister of Glasgow had an extensive parish he had a commensurately vast kirk, which, stripped of its altars, images, and decorations, and destitute of pews or fixed sittings, must have been a comfortless place, and but ill-adapted for the offices of public worship according to the Genevan order. That it also was rapidly falling into a condition of ruinous disrepair, partly through neglect, and also probably from wilful injury and from theft, is obvious from the tenour of the following extract, dated 21st August 1574, which is the earliest extant minute of Council dealing with the condition of the structure.

"The prouest, baillies, and counsale, with the dekyannis of the craftis and diuers wtheris honest men of the toun, convenand in the counsalhous, and haveand respect and consideratioun to the greit deokay and ruyne that the hie kirk of Glasgw is cum to, throuch taking awaye of the leid, sclait, and wther grayth thairof, in this trublus tyme bygane, sua that sick ane greit monument will alluterlie fall doun and deokay without it be remedit ; and becaus the helping thairof is sa greit and will extend to mair nor thai may spair, and that thai ar nocht addettit to the vphaldyng and reparing thairof be the law, yit of thair awin fre willis, vncompellit, and for the zeles thai beir to the kirk, of meir almous and liberalite, sua that induce na practik nor preparative in tymes cuming, conforme to ane writting to be maid thairanent, all in ane voce hes consentit to ane taxt and impositioun of twa hundredth pundis money to be taxt and payit

¹ "Glasgow Charters and Documents," pp. 131, 139, 444-5.

be the townschip and fremen thairof for helping to repair the said kirk and haldyng of it wattirfast; and for castyng and makyng thairof hes appointit thir persones folloving, viz. the dekyn of ilk craft, Johne Arbuckill, Thomas Normont, Matho Vatsoun, fleschour, Patrik Howe, litster, Robert Mure, merchand, William Maxuell, Dauld Lindsaye, elder, Andro Baillic, Robert Stewart, maister Adame Walles, George Herbertsoun, Johne Flemyng, William Hegait, Robert Flemyng, Thomas Spang, and Johne Lyndsaye, and to convene on Tysdaye nixt for endyng thairof.”¹

Within the next few years the Council minutes show that certain prebends, and chaplainries of the Cathedral, which remained in the patronage of the city, were bestowed upon the sons of citizens for their education. The Council indeed at this time manifested a most liberal and generous spirit towards education generally. In March 1572-3, as already stated, the Provost, Bailies, and Council granted a charter assigning and conveying in favour of the College all the Kirk livings which had been granted to the town by Queen Mary. The College had indeed, with the evil times, fallen on evil days. The charter itself narrates that the College for lack of funds was going wholly to ruin, and that through excessive poverty the pursuit of learning had become utterly extinct, “an unbecoming, even shameful thing.” Moved by these considerations, and in the hope that the University would bring forth “invincible champions and bravest combatants for the Christian faith,” the Council endowed the College with the whole of the Kirk livings “for the honest and sufficient sustentation of fifteen persons.” One of these was to be Principal and Professor of Theology, two others were to be regents in Dialectics,

¹ “Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow.” Scottish Burgh Society, Glasgow, 1876, vol. i. p. 20.

Physics, Ethics, and Politics, and the remaining twelve were to be poor students "with aptitude to acquire letters and philosophy."¹ A notable outcome of this generous charter was the appointment of Andrew Melville as first Professor of Theology and Principal of the University; and indeed from that grant may be said to have begun the prosperous career of the institution, which happily has continued down to the present day.

As to repairing and furnishing of the Hie Kirk, as it was officially called, little more is recorded for some years. In March 1578-9 occurs the following entry: "Andro Gammill, merchand, is maid burges and freman . . . quhais fynes extending to ten lib wes gevin be the baillies and counsale to maister Daud Wemis, minister, to furneis buirdis and furmes to the communion, to be haldin vp and kepit be the kirk in tyme cuming."² From this entry it may be inferred that the Church till this time was



Corner of Organ Gallery and Choir from South-West.

¹ "Glasgow Charters and Documents," p. 139.

² "Extracts, Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 74.

unsupplied with the pews which form an essential feature in modern presbyterian places of worship; and from other allusions it is manifest that no such conveniences were yet supplied.

The entry is, however, of more importance in connection with an assertion by Archbishop Spottiswood in his "History of the Church of Scotland";¹ which statement has been generally accepted by local historians without question or investigation. It affects equally the honour of the Town Council and that of one of the most illustrious scholars and statesmen of the later part of the century. Spottiswood says: "In Glasgow, the next spring, 1578, there happened a little disturbance by this occasion. The magistrates of the city, by the earnest dealing of Mr. Andrew Melville and other ministers, had condescended to demolish the Cathedral, and build with the materials thereof some little churches in other parts, for the ease of the citizens. Divers reasons were given for it; such as the resort of superstitious people to do their devotion in that place; the huge vastness of the Church, and that the voice of a preacher could not be heard by the multitudes that convened to sermon; the more commodious service of the people; and the removing of that idolatrous monument (so they called it) which was of all the Cathedrals in the country only left unruined, and in a possibility to be repaired. To do this work, a number of quarriers, masons, and other workmen was conduced, and the day assigned when it should take beginning. Intimation being made thereof, and the workmen by sound of a drum warned to go unto their work, the crafts of the city in a tumult took arms, swearing

¹ Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1850, vol. ii. p. 258. A similar tradition exists as to the manner of preservation of the religious buildings of Edinburgh. See Chambers's "Traditions of Edinburgh," vol. i. pp. 5, 6.—ED.

with many oaths, that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified till the workmen were discharged by the magistrates. A complaint was hereupon made, and the principals cited before the Council for insurrection ; where the king, not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the crafts, did allow the opposition they had made, and inhibited the ministers (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more into that business, saying ‘That too many churches had been already destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind.’”

For the support of this statement not the slightest official evidence is forthcoming ; and every fact, inference, and contemporary statement goes to prove that the citizens, led by the Council, devoted their energies and means to the upkeep of the vast edifice—no light task for a small and poor community. From Spottiswood’s statement the casual reader would infer that the demolishing of the structure and the building up of some “little churches” with the waste material would be merely a casual job which could be accomplished by a few willing workers in the course of a spring day. That, to any decree of the Council, the crafts should oppose force of arms as well as profane swearing is a most unlikely circumstance, for the crafts had more constitutional and more effective means of modifying the policy of a body which was largely composed of their own members. Moreover, the town already had in their possession other and much smaller churches, which they could repair and fit up for public worship when they so desired. Further, no reference to the matter occurs in the Records of the Privy Council, before which the chief actors are said to have been summoned. Spottiswood’s statement indeed can have no better foundation than some malicious

gossip, too readily credited and exaggerated by one who bore no goodwill to the Scottish Reformers.¹

While David Wemys was minister of Glasgow, a nominal Parson of Glasgow, as we have said, continued to occupy office, whose only duty was to absorb the parsonage teinds, just as the main function of the Archbishop was not to discharge the duties but to draw the emoluments of the holy office. On the death of Alexander Lauder, the Regent bestowed the benefice on Archibald Douglas, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, but the "Kirk Ministry and Superintendents in that part" refused to accept and receive him, unless he would consent to be removable at their pleasure, and then only under the condition that he should reside and discharge the duties of his office.² He complained to the Privy Council, stating that he was by this action deprived of the means of sustaining the reasonable charges which belonged to such an honourable office, and professed himself willing to provide out of his benefice for a minister such stipend as had been granted before. In the end Douglas was admitted to his benefice on the condition that he should pay David Wemys a stipend of £200 Scots yearly. In 1586 the Senator-Parson Douglas, set the teinds

¹ In Newte's "Tour in England and Scotland," Lond. 1791, p. 67, a slightly different account is given. "The Cathedral," it is stated, "was preserved at the Reformation from a rabble that came to destroy it from the country, by the townsmen, who, though zealous Reformers, listened to the judicious remonstrances of the chief magistrate. 'I am for pulling down the High Church,' said he, 'but not till we have first built a new one.' The bishop's palace, however, fell a sacrifice to their fury." The public is also familiar with the account of the incident given by Andrew Fairservice in "Rob Roy." The writer of the article on Govan in the "New Statistical Account," 1840, p. 676, inclines to think the story may have had some foundation, and quotes an entry from the Records of Glasgow Kirk Session of 7th March 1587 as possibly alluding to the origin of the tradition. "The commissioneris appoyntit be the kingis maiestie anent thair jugementis to be gevin for reparation of the hie kirk, and haill brethrene of the kirk and sessioun of Glasgw, thinkis gude that the lache stepill be tane down to repair the mason work in the said kirk, and bell and knok be transportit to the hiche stepill, and that the kirk haiff ane quoynzie left at the stepill foresaid for relief thairof." The feasibility of this suggestion is supported by the fact that the "lache stepill," or Western Tower, was not then taken down.—ED.

² "Privy Council Register," vol. ii. pp. 79, 114.

of the Parsonage on tack to Lord Blantyre for a payment of a yearly tack duty of 300 merks, and under burden of a yearly stipend of 800 merks to two ministers of Glasgow.¹ Thereupon, in the following year, a second minister, Mr. John Cowper, was appointed, and the town apportioned 500 merks to David Wemys, and 300 merks to the second minister, John Cowper. After two years of office Cowper gave the authorities such satisfaction, that on 2nd May 1590 the following resolution was adopted²:—"The provest, baillies, and counsall, for the speciall luif and favour quhilk they haif and beiris to maister Johne Cowper, thair minister, as also for the better sustenyng of him into his chairge, of thair meir liberalitie hes gevin and grantit to him the sowme of fyftie markis money, togidder with foure dousane burges ladis coilis, and tuentie pundis money for his hous maill, to be payit to him yeirlie be thair thesaurer, present and to cum."

On a small and really poor community such as Glasgow, the cost of keeping the Cathedral in adequate repair was a most onerous task.³ On the appointment of John Cowper, serious repairs fell to be executed in the choir, and the manner in which 1900 merks were obtained is detailed in the minute of 26th July 1589, which reads⁴:—"The quhilk day, the provest, baillies, and counsall, being convenit within their counsalhous to tak ordour how and quhat maner the queir of the Metropolitan Kirk of Glasgow suld be repairit and how sone the [werk sould] begin, conforme to ane act and ordinance maid thairanent vpoun the twentie-nyne day of Maij last, and offer

¹ Notes by the Town Clerk of Glasgow, 1880. (The Council Records from April 1586 till October 1588 are wanting.)

² "Extracts, Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 150.

³ In 1587 the inhabitants of the upper part of the city petitioned Parliament for consideration of their impoverishment by the withdrawal of the clergy, by whose resort that part was wont to be "intertenyt and vphaldin."—Act. Parl. July 29, 1587; Marwick's "Charters," ii. 213.—ED.

⁴ "Extracts, Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 140.

maid be James Flemyng, Robert Rowat, and James Stewart, baillies, for thameselfes and in name of the provest, counsall, and [deaconis of the] toun, quhairof the tenour followis ; The quhilk day, anent the complent of the ministeris, elderis, deaconis, and vtheris of the toun, present in sessioun for the tyme, for non-repairing of the Hie Kirk according to the charges and ordinances maid thairanent, James Flemyng, Robert Rowat and James Stewart, baillies, being present, offerit to the reparatioun thair of the haill taxatioun maid of fyvetene hundreth markis, for thair awin pairtis sex hundreth merkis, that the samyn suld be redy for the helping and repairing of the said kirk ; prowying alwayis that the parrochin without burgh and personage suld haif the rest, extending to nyne hundreth markis, redy for repairing of the said kirk ; and forder offerit that gif the persone and intromettouris with the fruittis of the personage and perrichionaris without burgh will mak sufficient securitie to the provest, baillies, and counsall of Glasgow for the payment of the said nyne hundreth markis to pay to thame within sex monethis efter the begynnyng of the werk, the saidis baillies, in name of the haill toun, sall begin farther furth and perfyte the said work, and find souertie to the persone and perrichionaris for that effect, and compt and reknyng to be maid as efferis. Quhilk being writtin and red within the counsalhous, the provest, baillies, counsall, and deaconis present and to cum, wes content and consentit to abyd thairat, and band and obleist thame and thair successowris for performyng of the said act and ordinance aggreit vpoun, and offer maid be the saidis baillies in name of the rest of the toun as said is.

“The quhilk day, in presens of the provest, baillies, counsall, and deaconis of Glasgw, within thair counsalhous, comperit the richt honorabill my lord commendatour of Blantyre, and bering grit zeale

and guidwill to the support and reparatioun of the queir of the Hie Kirk of Glasgw, frelie offerit the sovme of foure hundredth markis money to be gevin and advancit for the reparing of the said kirk, conforme to the former act, and sall find caution immediatlie efter the beginning of the said work, to pay the foirnemmit sowme for that effect. *Sic subscribitur*, Blantyre.”¹

The Tulchan Archbishop, James Boyd, died in 1581, and under date 3rd October of that year appears in the Minutes of the Council the following peaceable and loyal minute:²—“Comperit Williame Montgomerie, writter, and producit our Souerane Lordis lettir, willing and desyring the prouest, baillies, counsale, and communitie of the burgh and cietie of Glasgw, to acknowledge and recognosce and vse his Hienes trusty and weilbelouit Robert, now bischop of Glasgow, nocht onlie in presenting of the lytis to him for his electioun and admissioun, lyk as thai vsit to his predecessouris of befor, for this instant yeir and yeirlie in tyme cumyng during his lyftyme, bot alsua in all other thingis concerning thair dewitie to the bischop, as thai wald answer to his hienes vpone thair obedience, and report thair speciall thankis thairanent as to him to quhome our Souerane Lord had conferrit and gifin the said archbischopek, with all preuilegiis, immunitis, proffitis, and dewiteis pertenyng thairto ; as the said lettere of the daitt of Glasgw, the thrid day of October fourscoir ane yeiris, and of our Souerane Lordis regne the fyftene yeir, in it self at mair lenth proportis. To the quhilk Williame Hegait, procuratour and foirspeikar for the said prouest,

¹ The minutes of the Kirk Session, from 1586 to 1590, contain constant records of efforts and arrangements made for the upkeep and repair of the Cathedral. To this end the session applied now to the magistrates and again to the General Assembly for help. In 1588 they obtained a royal commission for the purpose ; in 1589 they devoted to it all kirk fines, and in 1590 they sought to induce the canons to undertake part of the burden.—ED.

² “Extracts, Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 89.

baillies, counsale, and communitie convenit, ansuerit that with thair hart thai wald accept and obey the said lettir in all poyntis, the said bischop fulfilling his dewitie to the Kingis maiestie, and using himself kynlie to the saidis toun for the weill thair of in all respectis; vpone the quhilk, the said Williame, requirit instrumentis of me, clerk and notare vnderwrittin."

The community, however, did not acknowledge and 'recognosce' the new Archbishop in the dutiful spirit indicated by the Council minute. A man of no resolution, character, or principle, he was a mere puppet of the Duke of Lennox, to whom, on his nomination to the Archiepiscopal office, he had contracted to pay out of the thirds of the Bishopric which remained to him a yearly sum of £1000 Scots, besides horse corn and poultry;¹ and for that and other reasons his election was peculiarly obnoxious to the Presbyterian party then again rising in power. His attempt to take possession of his office was met with the most violent opposition. The Cathedral had been occupied by students and others late on the Saturday preceding the day on which the Archbishop was to present himself. When the new prelate, accompanied by the Provost, Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, and other official persons, appeared within the sacred building, he found the pulpit filled by the ordinary preacher, Mr. Wemys, whom he displaced. Then ensued a most unseemly contest between the Presbyterian party in possession and the Episcopalians armed with royal authority. "The Presbytery of Glasgow intending process against him for molestation of the Church, and usurping the place of the ordinary preacher, Matthew Stewart of Minto, provost of the city, came and presented a warrant

¹ Spottiswood's "History," vol. ii. p. 282.

from the king to stay all proceedings against the bishop, willing them to desist. Mr. John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, moderating in his course (as the custom then was), and replying somewhat peremptorily, that notwithstanding his warrant they would proceed, some words of offence passed, whereupon the provost, pulling him from the seat, made him prisoner in the Tolbooth."¹ How Montgomery was excommunicated, how he was hunted, and finally how he was forced to resign office and accept a humble pastorate in Ayrshire, belongs to the general history of the Kirk.

The following minutes bear obviously on this event and its sequel :—

16 June 1582.

"Comperit Hectour Stewarte and presentit to the baillies and counsall ane lettere directe to thame fra the Duik as ane sufficiente warrande to the baillies and towne to resiste the violence and bosting of the college incace thai incure ony skaithe be the toun throw thair awin occatioun, quhilk wrytting Johne Grahme, ane of the baillies, hes in keiping for the townes warrande.

"The baillies, with aduyse of the Counsall and deaconis, ordanis the particular persownes burgessis of the toun quhilkis contrair thair aythis hes wsit wapounes aganis the baillies and toune to be callit and warnit to Tyisday the xix of this instante to heir their accusatioun, and the common procuratour be thair accuser.

"The tenour of the Dwikis lettere :—

"'Baillies, being knawin to the Kingis Majestee and ws, be the tenour of the lettere that ye haue sende to the larde of Mynto your

¹ Spottiswood's "History," vol. ii. p. 287. The circumstances are dwelt upon by M'Ure, who connects the incident with the decay of the provost's family, the Stewarts of Minto, seventy years later. See footnote to "Monuments and Inscriptions," *infra*.—ED.

proueiste, the truble maid laitle into your town of Glasgw be the colleigis mouit be the ministeris, it hes pleasit his hienes to gif ane charge to the said college nocht to do the lyke of it agane under the pane of disobedience, and to yow nocht to suffir that sick motiownes haue place in your proueistis absence.'"¹

8 July 1584.

"Comperit William Montgomery in presens of the honorabill persounes wndirwrittin, viz. Robert Steward, maister Adam Wallace, and William Conynghame, baillies, and of Georg Elphinstoun [and fourteen others], counsellouris, and producit our Souerane Lordis missive of thee tenour following :—'Trast freindis, we grite you weill. Haveing in our lait parliament establisching sum lawes for reformation of sindrie abussis croppin in the yeiris bigane in the policie of the kirk and restorit thee bischopis to thair awin prerogative within the samyne, fra the quhilk thay being in tyme past secludit and debarit, and for the bettir executioun thair of haveing be our speciall commissioun gewin power and autorite to euirie ane of thame to sie the samyne effectuat and put in practize within thair boundis and seuerall dioceis, we have thocht it werie meit to notifie the samyne wnto yow be the present and desire you werie ernistlie that our trustie and weilbelouit Robert bischope of Glasgow quhome we have lait reponit to his former estait and apoyntit our commissioner to the effect foirsaid, may be assistit and fortefeit be yow in the executioun of his said commissioun within your boundis as in all wther thingis tending to the establisching of thee ordour in thee kirk apoyntit be our actis ; and gif he sall have neid of your currence to thee intrometting with and vptaking of his leifing at the handis

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 94.

adettit to him in payment thairof, that ye wilbe in redines wpoun his requisitioun to assist our officer to that effect, as ye will do ws speciall pleasour and guid service. At Falkland, the xxi day of Junij 1584.' Quhilk lettir being red and publischt in the presens and oppin audience of thee baillies and counsell foirsaid, assistit with ane reasonable nummer of the commounalitie, in all humiliatioun, all in ane woce randarit thair obedience to our Souerane Lord is letteres in all respectis for concurring, fortefeing, and assisting of the said reuerend father as thair lauchfull bischope, lauchfullie presentit and admittit be our Souerane Lord, conforme to his hienes lawis."¹

Amid these commotions and troubles the Council continued to care for the great structure left in their charge. In December 1581 a conference was held between the Kirk authorities — the Superintendent, the Dean of Faculty, the Principal, and other Kirk members—and the Provost, Bailies, and Council as to the



South Aisle of Choir, looking west.

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 108.

ruin and decay of the Kirk, and subsequently, on 27th February 1582-3, the following resolution was passed :—¹

“The proveist, baillies, counsell, and deacones, being convenit, eftir lang ressonyng had tuiching the repairing and wphaldin presentlie of the kirk, with ane woce, consent, and assent, hes thocht it convenient and necessar that the haill kirk be wphaldin and reparit, provyding alwayis that thay nor thair successouris be nawyis astrictit, bund, nor oblist to wphald the samyne, bot that quhilk thay do to the help thair of be done of thair fre motiue will, wntractit or astrictit be ony law, cannon or ciuile, act of parliament or statute of counsell.”

In 1592 a third minister was appointed to the city,² and for the accommodation of his congregation the Tron Kirk was built or repaired where the old church of St. Mary or its ruins stood. Of that church the only fragment now remaining is the stunted Tron spire or steeple standing over the foot pavement on the south side of the Trongate.

The ecclesiastical activity of the Council at this time was very great. Within three years, in July 1595, a fourth minister,³ Mr. Alexander Rowatt, was admitted and appointed to “the towne and parrochin,” and thereupon “the provest, bailleis, and counsale present, hes grantit to the said maister Allexander Rowatt, minister, the sovme of xx li. money yeirle to paye his hous maill during his service of the ministrey in Glasgw and within the perochin thair of sa lang as he remainis minister thairin, and ordanes the thesaurer and thair successouris to paye the same yeirlie to him.”

¹ “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 100.

² “Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880.” (The Council Records from July 1590 till October 1599 are wanting.)

³ “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 169.

In the same year also the Council and the Deacon of Crafts entered into a contract with Arthur Allan for providing a new bell for the Cathedral, and in November of the following year an entry occurs in the Council minutes which details the cost of that work to the city :¹—"In presens of the bailleis and counsale, compt and rekyng being maid with Arthour Allan, concernyng the price of the Hie Kirk bell, thair is fund payit to him of the price of the haill bell extending to j^m tua li,iiij d. (£1002:0:4 Scots), and expenssis in hame-bringing thairof, quhair of he hes resavit thir sovmes, viz. the rest of the auld bell mettall ix^{xx} xvij li.ix s. (£198:9s. Scots); item, fra the barony ix^{xx} li (£180 Scots); item, fra the collectouris v^oiiij^{xx}li. (£580 Scots) and sua restis awand him *de claro* l li.xj s. (£1:11s. Scots)."

Immediately after the appointment of Alexander Rowatt it was agreed that the landward part of the parish should be separated from the city and erected into a distinct parish; and so, with the sanction and authority of the ecclesiastical courts, the Barony parish was instituted, Rowatt was inducted first minister, and the Laigh Kirk, the so-called crypt of the Cathedral, was assigned as the Parish Kirk of the Barony.² But the separation was never ratified by the civil authorities, and the minister of the High Church remains to this day officially first minister of the Barony Parish, the incumbent of the Barony being designated second minister.

Further differentiation of charges was sought and approved of in 1599.³ Till this time the three city ministers were ministers of one parish *quoad omnia*; but they now petitioned the Council to have the city divided into "tua peirochines, as vtheris townes hes done of

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 182.

² "Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880."

³ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. pp. 195, 196.

befoir, that the ministeris maye acknowlege thair awin flok." To this division the Council assented by their minute of 27th July 1599, although it does not appear that this resolution ever received civil sanction:—"The provest, bailleis, and counsale and deikines, eftir the deikines advysement tuiching thair votting anent the divisioune of the towne in tua peirochines, and of new socht over agane this daye be the thrie ministeris supplicatioune, all the saidis provest, bailleis, counsale, and deikines condiscendend in ane voce abydet at the former voitting maid this daye viij dayes, viz. thai all thocht it guid that the towne salbe devydit in tua competent peirochines, provyding that the towneship be nawyis burdanit with ony farder bigging or beitting of kirkis nor substeaning of ma ministeris nor thai have and dois presentlie."

In 1599 Senator Archibald Douglas resigned the Parsonage of Glasgow, and in 1601 King James issued a presentation in favour of David Wemys of "all and haill the parsonage and vicarage of the said parish kirk, and haill parochine of Glasgow, with the manse, glebe, teind sheaves, and other teinds as well great as small, parsonage and vicarage, fruits, emoluments, profits, and duties whatsoever belonging thereto."¹ It was only now, after forty years' service, that Wemys, the first protestant minister of Glasgow, became legal Parson of the City. In virtue of this presentation, he became entitled to the tack duty of 300 merks payable by Lord Blantyre, and that tack he ratified and continued under the additional burden of 15 chalders of victual for the better provision of the minister.

With the re-establishment of Prelacy in 1606, the parsonage rights reverted to the Archbishop under burden of the payment of

¹ "Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880."

the ministers' stipends; and a contract was entered into with Lord Blantyre under which the Archbishop undertook to pay the stipends of the ministers both of the Burgh and the Barony. At a much later period, in 1634, Archbishop Lindsay tried to evade this undertaking, maintaining that he was under obligation to support one minister only. The case was taken into the High Court in 1636, and probably it came to an end only through the next abolition of Episcopacy, which resulted from the Great General Assembly of 1638.¹

The condition of the structure still continued to give periodical cause for great anxiety. In April 1609 a conference was held on the subject of the "present hurt and apperand rowan of the Kirk," and the various ways by which funds could be secured were considered. It was first thought that an application might be made to the King for "the siluir of ald laid upone sindrie gentill mennes landis, callit the commonis of the Kirk"; but in the end it was resolved, in the meantime, to trust to the voluntary efforts of local patriots. Thereupon a collecting Committee was nominated—"speciall honest men of this town with the baillies and ministrie to collect . . . and to tak farder resolution concerning the vther meanis."²

Voluntary effort however failed, and in November following we find the following entry:—"Thee bailleis and counsell, dekinnis, and certain merchandis of that numbir of the sevinten men of the merchand hospitall appoyntid for the merchand effaris, being convenit to consult vpone ane commissioner to be direct, in companie with my Lord of Glasgu, to the Kingis Majestie to lament and deploir to his Hienes the rwein and daylie decay of our Metropolitan

¹ "Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880."

² "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 301.

Kirk, river, and brig, and to swit his Hienes help and supplie thairto, hes condescendit and aggreit that ane commissioner be direct to the effect foirsaid, quhome they haif nominat to be maister Robert Scot, ordiner minister of this town; and ordanis ane commissioun to be maid and formit to him vndir subscription of the clerk and seill of office, with provisioun and conditioun that quhatevir it pleis his Majestie to grant for help and supplie of the said kirk, brig, and river, that the same be takin in the persoun, name, and behalf of the communitie of this burcht and citie, and the said commissioner to be ansuerabill for the same to the town.”¹

As outcome of this application, four years later, in December 1613, King James issued a Charter granting “to the Provost, Bailies, Councillors, and community,” certain lands which had formerly belonged to the sub-deacons of Glasgow, called the Tenandry of Rattonraw. The preamble of the charter runs thus. “Know ye, that we, fully understanding the great expenses and charges spent and disbursed in manifold wise by the magistrates, burgesses, and inhabitants of our burgh and city of Glasgow, in restoring, repairing, and renewing of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow, and in daily upholding of the bridge thereof built and situated upon the river Clyde, and preservation of the said bridge from the strong current and flooding of the foresaid river; the said Metropolitan Church and foresaid bridge being two monuments and ornaments of our Kingdom of Scotland, which without the greatest care, forethought, and upholding of the said magistrates, burgesses, and indwellers of our said burgh of Glasgow, would have fallen in ruins many years ago and been levelled with the ground: which conduct of theirs, as it

¹ “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 308.

has conferred the greatest honour on us, so has it conferred a special convenience on all our subjects and lieges.”¹

The consistory house or library which formed the south-west annex of the Cathedral (removed in 1846) next claimed the serious attention of the Council. On 5th April 1628, “The proueist, bailyeis, and counsell hes condiscendit and aggreit that James Colquhoun, wricht, and John Boyid, masoun, build and repair the dekayet pairtis of the liberarie hous of the Hie Kirk, putt the ruiff thairon, geist and loft the samyn, and theik the samyn with leid, and do all thingis necessar thairto, for thrie thowsand and ane hundrethe merk to be payet be the toun to thame, conforme to ane contract to be sett doun betuix the toun and thame, thairupon.”²

It does not appear that the Archbishop, who in these years drew the revenues of the See and controlled the constitution of the Town Council, did much towards the maintenance and repair of the Cathedral, but it is recorded that Archbishop Law contributed one thousand merks for this reconstruction of the library house.³

It is marvellous, considering the stormy nature of the times at which we have now arrived, how few are the allusions to the strife and turmoil which appear in the dry minutes of the Council. But of the great crisis which culminated in the famous General Assembly within Glasgow Cathedral, naturally there is some notice. First, in February 1638 there appears a minute appointing Commissioners to ride to Edinburgh to confer with Commissioners of other burghs at that time in session, “thair to concur with thame in humble supplicating thair sacreid Soveraigne concerning the buikes of

¹ “Glasgow Charters and Documents,” vol. i. p. 284.

² “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 365.

³ Archbishop Spottiswood “repaired both the Cathedral and Palace of Glasgow, and first began the leaden roof of the Cathedral,” which was completed by his successor, Archbishop Law.—Keith, “Cat. Scot. Bish.” pp. 263-4.

canones and commoun prayer vrgit to be brought in in our Kirk of Scotland, and anent the hie commissioun, swa far as concernis Godis Glorie, his Magesteis honour, and preservatioun of trew religioun professit within this kingdome, and approvine be laudable lawis thair of, and to go on and conclud with the noblemen, barownes, barrowes, ministeris, and vtheris his Magesteis loyal subjectis convenit to that effect, swa far as lawfully may be done.”¹

Preparations for the Great Assembly occupied the attention of the Councillors in the autumn. An indication is given of the amount of work to be done in the way of preparation within the Cathedral, by Minute dated 20th October. “Forsameikle as the saidis provest, bealyeis, and counsall, wnderstanding the grait paines that is to be takin about the Hie Kirk for the making of the sait of the assemble approching, repairing of the fluir of the vter kirk, taking doun certane windowis in the iner kirk, biggit vp with stone, and putting glas thairon, and vther warkis thair incumbent as occasioun sall offer, quhilkis wark cannot be commodiouslie attendit vpon be the provest or bailyeis or maister of wark in respect they ar vtherwayes imployed, tharfor they have concludit and ordanit that James Colquhoun, wright, attend the saidis warkis and warkmen during the working thair of, and to give his best advyse for making of the sait for the vse of the said assemble, and they to pay him honestlie for his paines; and the said James being present acceptit the said charge in and vpon him, and becam in the will of the provest and bailyeis for his paines.”²

From various indications, it is evident that the Council fully

¹ “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 386. In the July previous Jenny Geddes had stopped the reading of the liturgy in St Giles by throwing her stool at the Dean’s head. The protest thus begun in the Cathedral of St Giles was to be confirmed and completed within the Cathedral of St Mungo.—ED.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 392.

recognised the historical importance of the Assembly which was convened in November 1638; and to the best of their ability they took steps to maintain the credit of the town for comfort, decency, and order, and the reputation of its inhabitants for hospitality.

After the close of the prolonged meetings a minute passed in Council reveals the fact that public order and the begging fraternity were specially cared for while the ministers and elders were guests of the city. "The saidis provest, bailies, and counsall, wnderstanding the guid and comendable ordour that was keipit within this brughe the tyme of last Generall Assemblie be reteining of the poor off the calsay and susteining of them in thair awin houssis, to the great credit of the citie and contentment of all strangeris resorting heir for the tyme, and seeing the samein is both godlie and honest, thairfor they have statut and ordanit that the poor be keipit and sustenit in thair houssis as they are now at this present, and the inhabitants of this brughe to be stentit to that effect; and this day aught dayes ilk counsallour to propone his best overtour, what way it can best be accomplished." ¹

On the 8th of November the Provost, Patrick Bell, was elected to attend the forthcoming General Assembly, and the latter met within the Cathedral under the Presidency of the Marquis of Hamilton, on the 21st of that month.² On the afternoon of 28th November the High Commissioner dissolved the Assembly in name of the King, but the Moderator Henderson and his followers were not prepared so to turn their back on the work to which they had

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. 395.

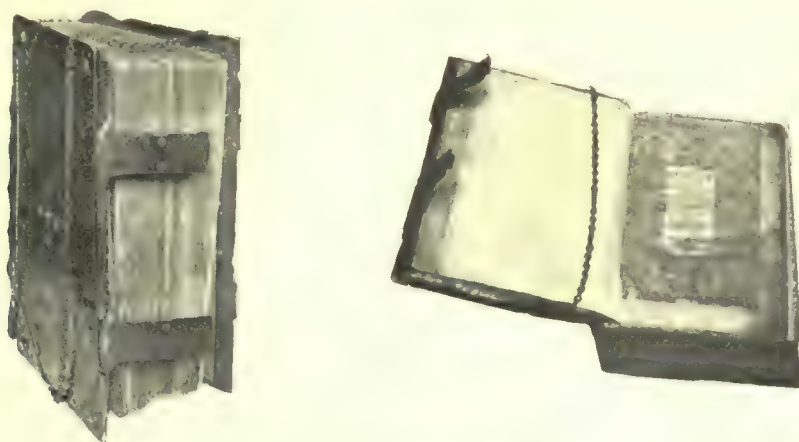
² A full account of the proceedings of this memorable assembly is to be found in Baillie's "Letters and Journals," ed. Laing, vol. i. p. 118. The town was filled to overflowing on the occasion, and the Assembly itself crowded the Cathedral, large numbers of people, "ladies and gentlewomen," looking down from the vaults of the triforium above.—ED.

set their hands. On the next day the provost having "convenit the bailyeis and counsall, he, for obedience of the said act, did intimat to thame that yeister night his woyce and woit was cravit whither or not the said assemblie sould desolve, being dischargit by auctoritie, and quhither he wald adhair to the protestatioun maid be the memberis thair of anent the not dessolving of the samein, as also that his woyce was cravit whither or not the said assemblie sould sit as judges vpon the bishops of this kingdome and thair adhairrance, notwithstanding of ane declinator preponit be thame in the contrar, vpon the quhilkis particularis the said Patrick Bell, provest, cravit the opiniouns of the saidis bailyeis and counsall, and they having takin the saidis materis to thair wyse consideratiounes, efter matur deliberatioun had thairanent, be plurality of woittis, it is concludit, statut, and ordanit that the said Patrik, thair said commissioner, sould for thame and in thair name, voit that the said assemblie sould sitt and not desolve notwithstanding of any mandat or proclamatioun maid òr to be maid in the contrar; and ordaines him in thair names to adhair to the protestatioun maid be the membris thair of anent the not desolving of the samein, and that he sould sit and continow with [the assemblie] to the full desolving thair of, and that he sould woyce for establisching of the said assemblie judges to the saidis bishops and thair adhairrance notwithstanding of the declinator preponit to thame in the contrar thair of."¹

Episcopacy being abolished by the Glasgow Assembly, the spoils fell again to be divided. In August 1641 the Town Council "ordanit that ane new commissioun be direct to Patrik Bell anent the divisioun cravit of the parochine of Glasgow, and to supplicat his Majestie anent the dissolutioun of the personag from the bishoprick, and

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 394.

for the ministeris mantinance out of the bishoprick as they formerlie had, and for ane minister to be mantenit out thair of in place of the bischop, and for ane competent allowance out the said bishoprick for vpholding the Great Kirk, and for helping the poor of the Bischopis Hospitall and Grammer Scoolle ; and becaus the clerk is now in Edinburgh, ordainis ane letter to be sent to him to draw wp commissiounes, ane or mae, to the said Patrick as he sall requyre



The Old Cathedral Bible.¹

him for managing of the saidis particularis, and also ane commissioun to defend this brugh fra that crav be Gabriell Conynghame for his attending the valutioune of the tythis and doe his best to hold it of the toune.”²

The temporalities of the Archbishopric, all the lands, buildings, and heritable properties appertaining to the office, together with the

¹ The Reader's Bible of the Cathedral, used about 1642, and now in the keeping of the minister, Dr. M'Adam Muir, after being lost for more than a century, returned to the possession of the Session in somewhat romantic fashion. About 1849, a surgeon, residing in Montrose Street, attended a patient in the Stockwell. This man, a blacksmith, had no means to pay his attendant, but he asked him to accept an heirloom, which turned out to be the old Cathedral Bible. The surgeon had two maiden sisters who kept house for him, and by the survivor of these the Bible was given to the Kirk Session of the Cathedral. In a burst of generosity the Session presented it to the late Dr. Burns, who, however, at his death left it again to the Church. Bound in solid oak, it has, still attached to it, a portion of the chain by which it was secured to the Reader's desk. A description of the Bible, with a plate, is given in "Scottish National Memorials, pp. 173, 174.—ED.

² "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. i. p. 431.

rights of Regality and Justiciary, and the right of nominating the Provost and Magistrates of the City, were by charter, dated 6th September 1641, assigned to the Duke of Lennox and Richmond for a payment to the Crown of 200 merks yearly.¹ On 17th November following, a Royal Charter was granted—subsequently confirmed



Hour-glass.

by an Act of Parliament—in which there were granted to the Town Council of Glasgow the teinds of the parsonage and vicarage, and all other duties belonging to the spirituality of the Archbishopric for the “mentenance of ane minister to serve the cure in place of the Archbeshope of Glasgow in the Heighe Kirk thereof, and for repaireing and upholding of the fabrike of the samene.” This grant, however, carried only the right to the duty payable by Lord Blantyre for his tack of the teinds, and it was not till 1648 that the town acquired the right to the whole teinds of the parish by the purchase of his tack from that nobleman for a sum of £20,000 Scots.

Up to this time it is obvious that the division of the city into more than one parish, desired by the ministers and agreed to by the Council, had not been carried into effect. When in 1641 Mr. Edward Wright was admitted successor to Mr. John Maxwell, he was instructed to preach “in the New Kirk in the forenoon and in the Hie Kirk in the efternoone,” and no settlement was to be made in the New (Tron) Kirk till it should be found whether the stipend which had been enjoyed by Maxwell was secured to his successor.² The order of preaching was again settled by the Council in August 1644, when “the Provest, bailleis, and counsall, taking to ther consideratioune that now be the mercie and providence

¹ “Glasgow Charters and Documents,” p. 415.

² “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. i. p. 428.

of God the wholl kirks of this brughe ar provydit, they did think it fitt they sould preache in the places and at the tymes vnderwritting, viz. Mr. Edward Wright vpon the Sabbothe in the Hie Kirk befor and efternoon, Masters Hew Blair and George Young in the New Kirk, and vpone the Tuysday and Thursday ilk weik.”¹ Two years later the Provost as commissioner at the General Assembly was instructed to remonstrate as to the “refuissal maid be Mr. Edward Wricht to preiche ilk foirnoone of Sabath day in the Blackfrier Kirk and ilk efter noone in the Hie Kirk.”²

The Outer High Church was called into existence in 1647, and from that time till the beginning of the nineteenth century three separate protestant churches and congregations found accommodation within the Cathedral. In September 1647 a call and presentation were issued in favour of Mr. Patrick Gillespie to become one of the City ministers of Glasgow. The same ecclesiastic had in 1641 laid before the Magistrates a presentation issued by King Charles I. in his favour as successor to the Archbishop,³ but apparently no successor was, at that time, wanted to any Archbishop, and the induction was not proceeded with. Now in 1647, the Magistrates of their own free choice elected Gillespie, and in that connection “it was thocht necessar that ane pairt of the outterhous of the grit kirk be repaireit for to be ane place quhairin thair sall be ordinar preaching; lykas it was condiscendit that Mr. Patrik sould be writtin to fra his place to intreat that he would imbreace charge in this brugh.”⁴ In the following year several brief minutes indicate

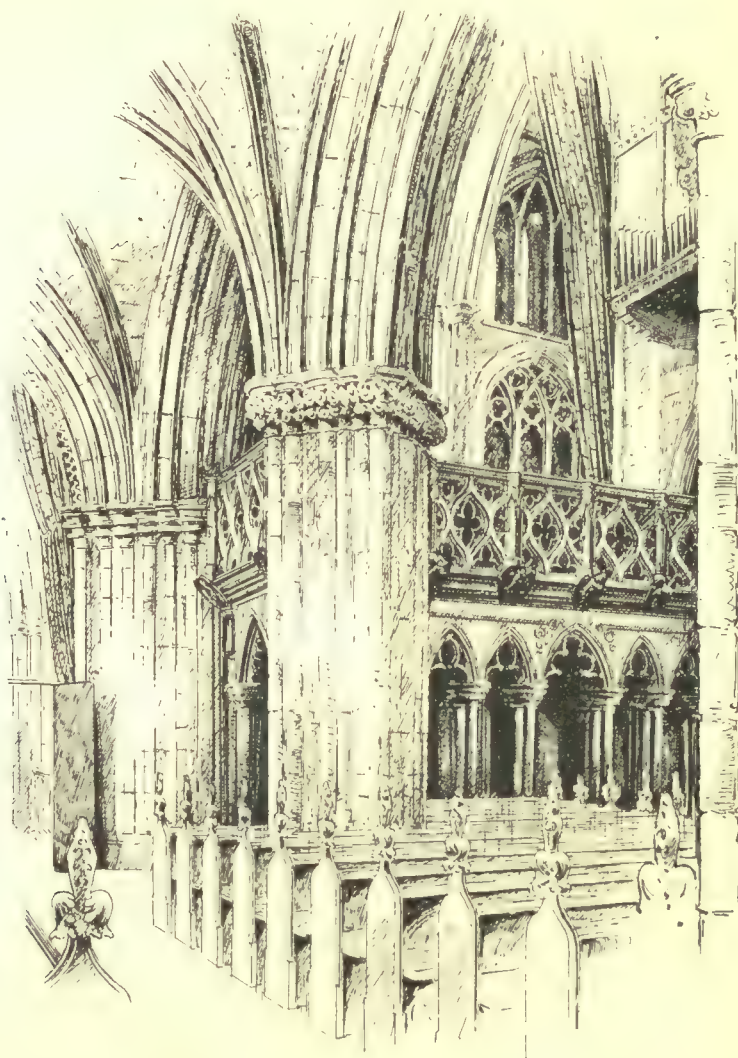
¹ “Glasgow Burgh Records,” vol. ii. p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 435.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 123. It was “Mr. Patrik” who was invited to sup with Cromwell in Saltmarket on the latter’s visit to Glasgow in 1650. During that visit the Protector attended service in the Cathedral at least twice, the preachers being respectively James Durham of Blackfriars (see “Monuments,” *infra*), and the famous Zachary Boyd (see Scott, “Tales of a Grandfather,” *sub anno*).—ED.

that the work of dividing off the Outer Kirk was being carried on. It was ordained that the mid-wall should be of stone, and none was to get stones from the quarry till "the Kirk be first servait." The



Organ Gallery from Choir, looking to North Transept.

work was continued into 1649, when orders were given for the purchase of timber to build and perfect the various lofts or galleries being constructed, and at the same time the Dean of Guild was

authorised to purchase no less than one thousand stones of lead for the Hie Kirk.

On the recommendation of the General Session, then a powerful body in Glasgow, there was in December 1648 accorded to the ministers a right of burial in "Fergus Isle for themselves, their wyfes and childreene," and on the same day, as concerning their living rather than their dying, "it was enacted and concludit be all in ane right voyce that eache of the ministeris sould have of yeirlie stipend in all tyme comeing the soum of one thousand pundis money."¹

In securing to the ministers this stipend, the Town Council agreed to divide the city into four parishes *quoad sacra*, and to allocate to the minister the teinds of the parsonage now secured by them according to an Allocation and Mortification subscribed on 8th September 1649. Under that Allocation the Council became bound to make up to one thousand pounds any deficiency in the yield of the teinds allocated, and to pay to the ministers in addition certain sums in lieu of manses which they did not possess.²

It may be inferred that the several churches of Glasgow at this time were not provided with regular pews and fixed seats. A special seat was, in each of the churches, set apart for the use of the Town Council, and therein "ane velvot cuschoin, and ane velvot black clothe" was laid before the provost; but occasional entries in the Council minutes indicate that these seats were frequently invaded by young men, and an officer was detailed to guard the portal of the seat reserved for municipal dignitaries. In May 1655 we read, "The foirsaidis magistrats and counsell, wnderstanding that the counsell seatt in the Hie Kirk is oftintymes thronged wmanerlie

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. ii. pp. 155, 156.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 172.

be young men in the toune who hes not seats provydit for them, it is therfor heirby condiscendit and aggreit that twa or thrie of the foirmest furmes of the loft, in the westmest end of the innerwork, be maid readie and repaired for thes young men and vther honest people of the towne of guid faschion, and that the samyne be keipit for that vse, ilk Sabbothe day, be ane of the townes officeris." Further forms for the lofts of the Hie Kirk were ordered in November 1656, "that honest men and utheris young men in the towne may sitt thairin as becumeth"—and here the Outer High Kirk is meant, for till this time there was no loft in the Inner Kirk. In 1660 a pulpit was ordered for the Laigh or Tron Kirk, and it was agreed that the west end of the said kirk "be pewed in ane comelie and decent forme as uther kirkis abrod." And having pews, another step in modern presbyterian church organisation was immediately taken in imposing pew rents. In October 1661 the Council "ordaines ane bank to be sent throw the toune be touk of drum to wairne all that hes takin any pewes of the Laigh Kirk that they com and pay the first year of maill therof betwixt and Thursday nixt, the last of this instant, with certificatioune to theis who failyies, theis pewes they have takin will be set to wthers who will pay therfor."¹ In June of the following year it was reported that maill or rent of the pews for the year from Martinmas preceding amounted to £338:8s. Scots.

We have seen that the outer High Kirk when opened was provided with lofts or galleries. Such a convenience for increasing the area for worshippers appears to have greatly commended itself to the ecclesiastical authorities, for in February 1657 it was resolved at the desyre of the ministers to provide and build "lofts" in both

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. ii. p. 474.

the Inner High Kirk and the Trongate Kirk, and immediately thereafter a warrant was issued to the Treasurer for £1570 Scots for "certane jeistis and daillis for building of the loftis in the Hie Kirk and Kirk in the Trongate."

And so things continued till the troublous days which came on Scotland with the Restoration of Charles II., and the killing times of himself and his bigotted brother. The Magistrates and Town Council resolved to present a dutiful address to the King's most excellent Majestie; and the Kirk Session, in gratitude for the Lord's merciful providence in returning him to his throne and government, set apart a day for public thanksgiving to God for the same.¹ That the Providence was not specially merciful was quickly manifested. The Acts re-establishing Prelacy in Scotland and annulling all the Parliamentry legislation since 1640 were passed within a year of the glorious Restoration; and nearly 400 ministers, including Principal Gillespie, Robert M'Quard, John Carstairs, and Ralph Rogers of Glasgow, with Donald Cargill of the Barony, were ejected from their charges.

Of the troubles which came on Glasgow with the accession of the King, the minutes of the Town Council give vague but significant hints. On the 17th April 1662, before the newly appointed Archbishop, Andrew Fairfoul, who was consecrated in London in December previously, had yet put in an appearance in Glasgow, the Town Council agreed to this ominous minute. "Ordaines the partitiounes of old put wp in the Hie Kirk to be takin doune, and recommends the doing thair of to Mr. Patrik Bell, baillie, who made choys of James Pollock and James Colhoune

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. ii. pp. 445, 447.

to be with him. And recommends to the magistrats to bestow on the Chancellor and noblemen that comes with him als noblie as they can and the toune will afoard."¹ It is fair to assume that herein we have a manifestation of a sullen and unwilling compliance with an edict issued by the new episcopal master of both City and Council, ordering the reinstatement of the Cathedral into its ancient condition, fitted for the pomp and pageantry of a great Spiritual Lord, and his attendant court. The order issued perfunctorily does not appear to have been acted upon ; and doubtless Archbishop Fairfoul, when he arrived on the scene, found difficulties enough in his exalted but precarious position, without seeking to insist on work he could not enforce.

The arrival of the Archbishop in great state, accompanied by the Chancellor and other noblemen, took place about the time this order was issued, for a few days later the treasurer was authorised to receive £313 expenses and horse hire of those who went out to meet and to attend the Bishop homewards. The order to ride out was unwillingly obeyed and much evaded, a circumstance not overlooked by the Council, for a few days afterwards a decree was issued imposing an unlaw of £12 Scots on all commanded to ride out to meet the Bishop and Chancellor who failed to go. And in this way once more a ruling Prelate was established within the ancient diocese of Glasgow.

By death first, and by ejection afterwards, several vacancies were made in the ministerial ranks of Glasgow. The first victim of the new regime was Mr. Robert M'Quard of the Outer High Kirk, who, charged with treasonable preaching, was banished furth the

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. ii. p. 483.

Kingdom ; and on 5th October 1661 the Council testified their sympathy with M'Quard thus : " It is concludit that twentie fyve pundis starling be payit to Mr. Robert M'Quard for ane testimony of the magistratis and counsell their respect to him now at his away goeing, and that by and besyd what is trewlie awand of his steipand and hous maill, and recomends the samyne to the magistratis to sie it done bewixt and Twesday at evin nixt." ¹ The Council still kept in their own hands, with consent of the Kirk Session, the right to move the ministers from one church to another, and Ralph Rodger of the High Church had repeatedly been instructed to preach in the Trongate : but he obdurately stuck to his accustomed pulpit. But now the Archbishop intervened in a manner which effectually ended this difficulty, for Rodger, disdaining to accept episcopal ordination, was banished to the north of the river Tay. An allusion to this event is found in the Council minutes dated 1st November 1662. " It is concludit, for the better evidencing of the townes respectis to Mr. Ralph Rodger, that twenty pundis starling be payit to him be Mr. Robert Goveane for his transportatioune." ²

On 18th October 1662 it was agreed to give a call, to Richard Waddell to the High Kirk, and John Anderson to be 'ane of the ordinar ministers of the towne.' To this the Archbishop assented, on condition that John Burnet should, at the same time, be called : a condition to which the Council agreed, provided the Archbishop would consent to pay his stipend. Soon thereafter it was intimated to the Council that both Waddell and Anderson refused to accept the call to Glasgow.

All arrangements and bargains which had been concluded

¹ "Glasgow Burgh Records," vol. ii. p. 470.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 496.

regarding teinds and other church property were, by the Acts re-establishing Prelacy, annulled and ended, and the whole property, rights, and privileges of the Bishopric, so far as these had not inalienably been transferred to private ownership, reverted to the episcopal authorities.

What really were the arrangements between the Archbishop and the Council for the thirty years following the Restoration it is difficult to discover. There are preserved two tacks, granted by the Archbishop to the town in 1684, by the first of which the latter got a

An interesting glimpse into the relationship of the Archbishop and the townspeople ten years previous to the Revolution is afforded by a letter of Archbishop Burnet, given here in facsimile, which runs as follows :

GLASGOW, *October 15, 1678.*

" MY LORD,

I should have nothing to write to your Lordship from this place if there had not an unhappy accident fallen out here the last Lord's Day, of which I find myself obliged to give your Lordship an account. Our provost saw (as he was coming to church in the afternoone) many people going to the salt market, as he supposed to a conventicle, and so ordered one, Mr. John Lees, to take the officers with him and seize the preacher (if he could) with some of the most considerable of the hearers. This they endeavoured to do, but found the conventiclars too hard for them. In the roome which they entered first they found not many men, but great multitudes of women in and about the house. Another room they found fast shutt against them, where they supposed the preacher and most considerable persons to be. After some skuffle Mr. Lees thought it necessary to goe to the magistrates for advice and assistance, ordering the officer to guard the doore and staires till he should returne : as soone as he appeared in the street he was surrounded with some hundreds of women, who pelted him severely with stones, and at last disarmed him, took his sword, struck himself doune, trode upon him, and wounded him in three places on the head, and with blows and treading upon him bruised his whole body and left him for dead. However, by the help of 460 souldiers (who made much more opposition to them than all our officers) the poore man was at last taken up and carried into a house, and had his wounds sighted and dressed by the chirurgions, and is by them conceaved to be in a dangerous condition. I am somewhat troubled that such an attempt should have beene made here, for it doth but discover our nakedness, for if the women had beene repressed and men obliged to appear it is to be feared this tumult might have produced more fatall effects ; for I can assure your Lordship we are at their mercy every houre, and how farre the noise and report of this may encourage other disaffected persons I cannot tell. I intended to have given the E. of Murray this account, but I thought it better to order the magistrates to doe it, that it might come from them to the Committee rather than from

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's affectionate Brother and Servant,

" ALEX. GLASGUEN."

" For the Right Reverend

My Lord Bishop of Galloway."

Glasgow Octob 15

1678

My Lord

I should have nothing to write to your Lot^y from this place, if there had not an unhappy accident fallen out here the last Lord day, of which I find my self obliged to give your Lot^y an account. One protestant sent (as he was coming to church in the afternoon) many people going to the salt market, as he supposed to a conventicle and so ordered one Mr John Lord to take the officers with him and seize the preacher (if he could) with some of the most considerable of the hearers, this they endeavored to do but found the conventicles too hard for them. In the room Mr W^m entered first they found not many men, but great numbers of women in and about the house, another room they found full of men against whom they suspected the preacher and most considerable persons to be. After some strife Mr Lord thought it necessary to go to the Magistrates for advice and assistance, ordering the officers to guard the doors and stairs till he should return; as soon as he appeared in the street he was surrounded with some hundreds of women who maltreated him severely with stones, and at last disarmed him of his sword, threw himself down, knee upon, ^{him} wounded him in three places on the head, and with blows and treading upon him bruised his whole body, and left him for dead. However by the help of the soldiers (who made much more opposition to them than all our officers) the poor man was at last taken up and carried in to a house and had his wounds sealed and dressed by the chirurgions, and is by them renewed to be in a dangerous condition. I am somewhat troubled that such an attempt should have been made here, for it does but disorder our nobodies, for if these women had been repressed and men obliged to appear, it is to be feared this tumult might have produced more fatal effects: for I can assure your Lot^y we are at their mercy, ~~and have~~ and have seen the noise and report of this may encourage other disorderly places, I cannot tell. I intended to have given the L^d of Murray this account, but I thought it better to order the magistrates to do it, that it might come from them to the Committee rather than from

My Lord

your Lot^y affectionate brother
and servant
Alex: Glaxien

lease of the teinds of the City Parish for nineteen years for payment of a yearly tack-duty of 1800 merks (£100 sterling) and manse rent to the parson, the Archbishop being bound to pay "the parson's" stipend; and, by the second, the teinds of the Barony parish were set to the town for a yearly tack-duty of 300 merks Scots (£16:13:4 sterling), the town relieving the Archbishop of the Minister's stipend, the communion elements, and expense of repairing the Kirks. Before the tacks had run many years, Episcopacy was finally abolished by the Revolution of 1688,¹ and an entry in the Council Record on 2nd June 1690 bears that the provost was sent to Edinburgh with a gift of the teinds which had been obtained, and to see about getting possession "now when bishops are abolished."²

Renewal of these tacks was obtained from the Crown in 1704, when the bargain with the Bishop expired; and in 1723 the teinds were set by George I. to the Magistrates under condition that they paid £1080 Scots to the minister of the High Church, £950 Scots to the minister of the Barony, expended 1000 merks yearly on the upkeep of the Cathedral, supplied both Kirks with Communion elements, and paid £200 Scots yearly of tack-duty to the Crown.

¹ The Revolution is said to have been the occasion of a disgraceful riot at the door of the Cathedral, in which, as in the incident related by Archbishop Burnet six years earlier, the women of Glasgow appear to have played the chief part. Upon news of the change of government, it appears, the episcopal ministers of the town were thrust from their churches by the rabble. In the emergency the provost, Walter Gibson, who had been appointed by the Archbishop, made a paction with the Presbyterians that the keys of the churches should be kept in custody till Parliament decided upon their possession. In the provost's absence, however, a party of women, of the Covenantee party, appear to have tried to take possession of the Cathedral, making their way within the door. Thereupon the provost's brother, Bailie Gibson, with a party of special constables, proceeded to turn them out. The women, forty in number, resisted, and their noise brought out the Covenanters in the town, who beat drums, got to arms, and threatened desperate measures. By the intervention of the quieter Presbyterians an accommodation was made, but not before many, including a number of the valorous females, were considerably hurt. Rule's second "Vindication," a curious Covenantee brochure dated three years after the event, concludes its account of the riot by stating how up to that time all the women "have suffered patiently, and wait for a hearing of their cause by a competent judge."—ED.

² "Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880."

The amount of teind collected, especially in later days, was very far from being sufficient to pay stipends, so that whatever was spent on maintenance of the structure came out of the Common Good of the City. The arrangement under which the Town Council paid the stipend of the minister of the Inner High Kirk terminated in 1815, since which time he, as parson of Glasgow, has been paid directly by the heritors.¹

We have seen that no sooner were pews provided in the Tron Kirk than the system of pew rents was instituted, from which a fair revenue was obtained. This led to a general introduction of the practice of seat-letting in all the kirks of the City. On 24th March 1677, a Committee was appointed to sight the Inner High Kirk, "and to caus mak and sett in new pewes in such parts thair of as they think fit"; and on 17th December of the same year the Council resolved "that the pewes in the haill Kirkis of this burgh be sett out for maills to theis who pleises to tak them." At first the seat rents were paid into the general revenues of the City, but in 1701 it was resolved to treat them as a special fund for paying stipends, and for keeping the Kirks and seats in good condition. And such is the practice up to this year of grace 1898.

About 200 years after the Barony Congregation first assembled in the Lower Kirk or Crypt of the Cathedral, the heritors came to the conclusion that it was desirable to have a more convenient and comfortable church. At first they contemplated occupying the portion of the Nave which lay between the Outer High Kirk and the Choir occupied as the Inner High Kirk; but better counsels prevailed, and in the end Robertson, a nephew and pupil of the

¹ "Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880."

brothers Adam, was employed to erect a new building outside of the Cathedral precincts. It was built in 1798, and got the undeserved reputation of being the ugliest church in Europe. But although the Barony congregation was thus cleared out of the Cathedral, the Barony heritors were not so soon got quit of. Two hundred years of undisputed possession, during which time they dealt with the structure according to their own will, and that of their successive ministers, gave the heritors the impression that the property was theirs to do with it as seemed good in their eyes. Accordingly they turned it into a graveyard for themselves. The level of the floor was raised by the introduction of several feet of mould so that the bases of the columns were correspondingly buried; lairs were staked off by iron railings; light was almost entirely excluded by building up the fine windows; and all the usual tawdry ornamentation and sentimentality of a commonplace burying ground were plentifully spread about. For this mal-appropriation there was, of course, not the slightest warrant; but as the Crown authorities had not, up to that time, either claimed their property, or shown the least interest in its fate, it was nobody's business to interfere.

In the year 1817, a new lease of the teinds of Glasgow Parish and Barony was obtained from the Crown by the Town Council of Glasgow for a period of nineteen years, for payment of a grassum of £6458:3:8 sterling. Out of this grassum the Government agreed to grant £2000 for the establishment of the Botanic Gardens in Glasgow, and £3000 towards the repair and maintenance of the Cathedral. As both the ministers of the Inner High Kirk and of the Barony Kirk had, in the meantime, obtained decrees of modification entitling them to payment of stipends direct from the heritors, all the Town Council was entitled to claim from the teinds was as

much as would repay the grassum of £6458 : 3 : 8, and a yearly rent of £200 Scots. The lease expired in 1836, and although an attempt was then made to negotiate a new agreement for a similar period of years, under the condition that the Crown should contribute out of



Interior of Choir, about 1822, from engraving by William Brown, dedicated to William Smith of Carbeth Guthrie, Lord Provost.

the grassum £6000 towards the expense of removing the Outer High Kirk, and for renovating the Cathedral generally, no agreement was arrived at.¹

In the year 1805 an architect of more than local reputation,

¹ "Notes by the Town Clerk, 1880."

Mr. William Stark, was employed by the Corporation to carry out a reconstruction of the interior of the Inner High Kirk. The entire church was gutted, the pulpit, which had hitherto stood on the south side in the opening of an arch, was removed to the east end, new galleries around three sides were formed, the great oriel separating the Choir from the lady Chapel was opened up, and a window was formed in the partition wall which separated the Choir from the Nave. The work was carried out strictly with the view of forming the most comfortable and convenient possible presbyterian church within a building ill-adapted for the purpose, and the great structure once more suffered much from hewing and hacking in connection with the erection of the galleries, which were borne on beams inserted into the massive Gothic pillars of the aisles.

In 1812 the great west window of the Nave was opened up and repaired under the superintendence of Mr. David Hamilton.

But as the century wore on, notwithstanding the no small expenditure on it, the Cathedral presented but a sorry spectacle. Internally divided up by two cross partitions, and fitted with lofts, there could only be seen two somewhat mean and dull kirks, such as Scottish folks of the period were but too well accustomed to. Soil had accumulated around the west side of the Church till the floor level of the Nave was from seven to ten feet beneath the outer surface level. The entrance was not by a door in any architectural sense, but by a mere opening in the south wall. The disused Barony Church, gloomy and dismal in the extreme, as befitted a mere charnel-house, into which it had been most unwarrantably transformed, completed the depressing picture.

In this condition it was when in 1833 Mr. Archibald M'Lellan, the originator of the public Art Galleries of Glasgow, published his

essay, "The Cathedral of Glasgow," calling attention to the condition of the sacred structure, and suggesting the opening up of the interior, and many other of the improvements which have since been accomplished. The first essential of the improvements consisted in the removal of the Outer High Kirk and the providing of its congregation with a new, more commodious, and more comfortable building. In truth, the Outer High Kirk had never been a comfortable church, but our fathers did not look for comfort within their churches. The Outer High Kirk, always sufficient to satisfy the saddest souls, had, however, become unbearable, even to the most uncomfortable Christian. It was damp, cold, dark, unventilated, and evil smelling; in every way a most undesirable meeting-house. The resolution of the Town Council in 1835 to build St. Paul's Church for the accommodation of the congregation was the first step in the great renovation and transformation of the Cathedral. At a cost of about £8000 the church was built, and on 3rd August 1836 St. Paul's Kirk was opened and the "Outer High Kirk" disappeared for ever.

In the meantime, in accordance with M'Lellan's suggestion, a strong local committee, in which was included the entire Town Council, was formed "to preserve and complete the Cathedral." In 1836 the Committee, with the architectural aid and guidance of Mr. Gillespie Graham, issued a set of plans and elevations of proposed renovations and additions to the Cathedral of Glasgow.¹ These plans embraced the removal of the Consistory House and the Western Tower; the erection in their place of two symmetrical spires, and the reconstruction and completion of the transept, etc. The sanction of the Commissioners of Works and of H.M. Treasury was obtained

¹ Plans and Elevations of the proposed Restorations and Additions to the Cathedral of Glasgow. With an Explanatory Address by the Local Committee." Glasgow, MDCCCXXXVI.

to the general scheme, and considerable subscriptions were obtained ; but the greater part of the expense was borne by the Government, under the supervision of whose officials the work was carried on.¹

Much of what was done in connection with this reconstruction has given rise to violent controversy, and to bitter reproach ; but with that, and with the details of the reconstruction, we have here nothing to do. It was not directly the work of the Town Council, and now that the Government aid had been called in with some effect, the public authorities at last wakened up to the consciousness that the Cathedral was a national monument. The authority of the Crown over the structure was consequently asserted, and after nearly 300 years of undisputed occupation, the Town Council of Glasgow was given to understand that possession did not mean ownership. In 1849 a deed of appointment was executed by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, setting forth "that the Cathedral of Glasgow, the property of her Majesty, has recently been extensively repaired and restored, and that the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Glasgow, as representing the Community thereof, have requested that we should place the custody and care of the said building with them, in order to insure the due protection and care and preservation thereof ; with which request we have resolved to comply." The Town Council were therefore appointed "custodiers and conservators of the said Cathedral" ; and they were directed to take all steps necessary for its preservation, and to make it accessible to the public under proper regulations. They were not to fit up or appropriate any

¹ The work of Restoration was well advanced when Her Majesty Queen Victoria paid a visit to the Cathedral on 14th August 1849. A full account of that visit is to be found in the newspapers of the time.—ED.

portion of the Cathedral "for any purpose other than religious service at present performed there, nor to allow interments in it, erection of tablets in the walls, or cutting of inscriptions on any portion of the building."

While the maintenance and repair of the structure has thus again reverted to its owner—the Crown—the fittings and other works within the part devoted to divine service continue to be the property of the Town Council, who are responsible for their repair and maintenance. In 1855, at a cost of about £2500, the Council provided a heating apparatus, and entirely resealed the Church with elegant oak pews. In 1858 the Department of Works supplied curtains to the Choir at a cost of about £300, on condition that the Corporation should keep them in order, and renew them from time to time when necessary.

The appointment of the Town Council as Custodiers of the Cathedral was revocable at will, and towards the end of 1856 the Chief Commissioner of Works complained that the charge made for the admission of visitors to see the interior was excessive, and should be reduced. The Corporation at that time charged each visitor sixpence on five days of the week, and on Saturdays the admission was twopence; and on their own showing they were in the way of earning a fair profit from the enterprise. During 1855, 11,042 visitors paid a sixpence each, and on Saturdays 4992 had been admitted for a payment of twopence per head, all which yielded a revenue of £307 : 13s., while the expenditure on Vergers, Cleaning, Watchmen, etc., did not exceed £200 for the year. As representing the Council, the Lord Provost—Sir Andrew Orr—argued that were the admission fees reduced by one half, the receipts would fall in exact ratio, while the expenditure would be increased by more than

£300. The Lord Provost's argument was obviously most lame and fallacious, for were the number of visitors not to augment, obviously there was no cause for increased expenditure. Sir Andrew Orr, however, expressed the willingness of the Council to reduce the admission fees and to open the Cathedral on certain days free, provided the Commissioner of Works would indemnify the Council for any loss that body might thereby sustain. He argued that after three hundred years of unchallenged occupancy the Council might also claim a right of property in the building; that the clause giving the Government a power of revocation of custodiership was merely formal, and not meant to be operative; that depriving the Council of the control of the Cathedral would create a very bad local feeling, and would be likely to seriously interfere with the scheme for filling the windows with stained glass by means of local subscriptions—an undertaking in which he was then engaged. The Commissioner of Works, however, stuck to his point; he stated that servants of the Corporation of Glasgow could not be paid out of Government funds, and that unless the Town Council were prepared to lower the charge for admission, and to open the venerable pile free on certain days, their custodiership would be recalled, and the Office of Public Works would take charge of the building. And so on a trumpery question of a few pounds, which might or might not fall to be paid yearly from the Common Good, the control of the Cathedral of Glasgow passed finally out of the hands of the Town Council on 3rd February 1857.



The Great Key of the Cathedral.

CATALOGUE OF THE BISHOPS, ARCHBISHOPS, AND MINISTERS.

BY THE REV. J. F. S. GORDON, D.D.

BISHOPS OF GLASGOW.



The Old Bell of the Cathedral.¹

S T KENTIGERN, 543-603.—Natural son of Eugenius or Ewen III., King of Reged, and Thenew or Thaney, daughter of Loth, King of Lothian, and granddaughter on the mother's side of Uter Pendragon, the fabled builder of Stonehenge. Kentigern was second of the great Christian apostles of the Cymric or British race, Ninian having been the first; and he performed the same office among the Britons of the great Strathclyde kingdom between the Roman walls as his contemporary Columba performed among the Scots of Argyll and the Picts of the north. During twenty years of expulsion by the heathen, from 553 to 573, he founded the church of Llanelwy, now St Asaph's, in Wales, and in later years he carried Christian truth to the Picts of Galloway and of north-eastern Scotland. He was visited by Columba at Glasgu,

¹ See Note to Archbishop Dunbar, *infra*, and particulars in Archbishop Eyre's article on "The Western Towers."

“the dear green place,” by the Molendinar, and was buried at last in his own church there. His biography is included among the Lives of the Saints.

From the death of Kentigern in 603 A.D. till the year 1115 the successive rulers of the church of Glasgow are known indistinctly or not at all. The *Notitia* made by order of David, Prince of Cumbria, in 1121, and preserved in the Chartulary of Glasgow, states that Kentigern was succeeded in the See by many bishops, but that, owing to the troubles of the period, the church of Glasgow had disappeared, and Christianity itself almost become extinct in the region. One or two names only have a shadowy memorial.

ST BALDRED.—The connection of Baldred with Glasgow remains, to say the utmost, doubtful. The Aberdeen Breviary, which contains the only reference to the subject, merely states, under the name of Baldredus, that this saint came after Kentigern among the Britons. It would appear that the greater part of his work was performed in East Lothian, and that his chief residence was on the Bass Rock.¹

SEDULIUS, *fl. circa*, 721. At a Council held by Pope Gregory II. at Rome in 721, the canons were subscribed by “Sedulius, Bishop of Britain, of the race of the Scots.”² Nothing more is known of this bishop.

MAGSUEU, 1057. } Upon the re-establishment of the church of Glasgow
JOHN, . 1059. } by Prince David in 1115, the superiority of the
MICHAEL, 1109. } See was claimed by the Metropolitan of York, and
in proof of that claim the names of these three bishops were quoted as
having been consecrated in succession to the See of Cumbria by the
Archbishop.³ Considerable doubts, however, are entertained by historians
that the entries containing these names were interpolated to support the
claim of superiority set up by York.

In 1115 Glasgow comes again into the light of authentic history. David, Prince of Cumbria, afterwards King David I., promoted to the bishopric his chaplain and chancellor.

¹ See p. 41.

² Haddan and Stubbs, “Councils,” vol. ii. p. 7. See *supra*, p. 42.

³ Stubbs, “De Archiep. Ebor” (Twysden’s “Scriptores”). See *supra*, p. 44.

JOHN ACHAIUS, 1115-1147.—Bishop John was consecrated at Rome by Pope Pascal II., who appreciated his learning and piety.¹ He rebuilt and adorned his cathedral church, which was consecrated on the 7th July 1136, King David being present. Achaius' church was destroyed by fire forty years after its consecration. For resisting the assertion of superiority over the Scottish sees made by York, Bishop John was declared to be suspended by Thurstan, the Archbishop, in 1122. He then set off for the Holy Land, but in the following year, by order of the Pope, returned to his See. In 1125, when in Rome endeavouring to obtain the *pallium* for the Bishop of St Andrews, against the efforts of the Archbishop of York, he is said to have retired among the Benedictine monks, and only to have returned to his diocese when compelled to do so by Alberic, the legate, in 1138. Bishop John died May 28, 1147, and was buried in Jedburgh Abbey.

HERBERT, 1147-1164, was previously Abbot of Selkirk and Kelso. He was Chancellor of the kingdom, and was consecrated at Auxerre by Pope Eugenius III., on St Bartholomew's Day, 1147. He introduced into his diocese the usages of Sarum, or Salisbury, as arranged by Bishop Osmund in 1076, which continued till the Reformation. At his instance was written the earlier fragmentary life of Kentigern.²

INGRAM or INGELRAM, 1164-1174, had the surname of NEWBIGGING, and was brother to Elias, laird of Dunsire, Lanarkshire. He was Archdeacon of Glasgow, Rector of Peebles, and Chancellor of the kingdom, holding this latter office through the whole subsequent reign of King Malcolm IV. For defending the cause of the Scottish Church against the claims of York, he was, immediately upon the death of Herbert, elected Bishop of Glasgow, and consecrated at Siena by Pope Alexander III., on Ss. Simon's and Jude's Day, 1164. He died on the 2nd February 1174.

JOCELIN, 1175-1199, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Melrose, succeeded, and was consecrated at Charavalle, Clairvaux, on the 1st June 1175, by Esceline, the Pope's legate.³ He obtained for Glasgow from William the Lion the grant of a burgh, with a market on Thursday,

¹ Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops."

² See p. 18.

³ "Chron. Mailros."

and the right of a fair. In 1182 he went to Rome and induced Pope Lucius III. to absolve William the Lion from the censure of the Church. The Cathedral of Glasgow, probably built of wood, having been destroyed by fire about the year 1176,¹ Jocelin began rebuilding it of stone. To raise funds for his purpose he caused the complete Life and Miracles of St Kentigern to be written by Jocelin, a monk of Furness, in Lancashire. He consecrated the Lower Church on the 6th July 1197, two bishops assisting.² In 1188 he obtained, by a Bull of Clement III., a declaration that the Scottish bishoprics were dependencies of none but the Apostolic See of Rome. He died at his old abbey of Melrose on the 17th March 1199, and was buried on the north side of the choir there.³

HUGH, or HUGO DE ROXBURGH, 1199, Rector of Tullibody, in the shire of Clackmannan, and chaplain to Nicolaus, the Chancellor of Scotland in 1189, in May 1199 was preferred to this See, but two months after his election he died, "sexto Idus Julii 1199," probably unconsecrated.⁴

WILLIAM MALVOISIN, 1200-1202, was elected in October 1199, and consecrated in France by the Archbishop of Lyons, not at Glasgow, as stated by M'Ure. Translated to the See of St Andrews in September 1202, he founded St Mary's Hospital at Lochleven, called Scotlandwell. He wrote Lives of Ss. Ninian and Kentigern. He attended the fourth Lateran Council at Rome in 1215, at which Pope Innocent III. presided, and preached the opening sermon. It was attended by 410 bishops. He died on the 15th July 1238, at his palace of Inchmartine, a country residence of the bishops of St Andrews, near the present Kenlygreen House, Boarhills. He was the first bishop who was buried in the Choir of the Cathedral of St Andrews.⁵

FLORENCE, 1202-1207, was the son of Count Florence of Holland, the hero of the Crusaders at Damietta, by Ada, granddaughter of King David I. His uncle, William the Lion, made him Chancellor of the kingdom, and at the same time he was elected Bishop of Glasgow. But

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 76.

³ "Chron. Mailros."

² "Chron. Mailros."

⁴ Fordoun's "Scotichronicon."

⁵ For details see Gordon's "Scotichronicon," i. 146-154. Malvoisin, *pace* Keith, was evidently a Frenchman. Fordoun, viii., lxxviii., says he went abroad, *patriam suam et parentes Gallias visiturus*.—Ed.

he was only *elect*, never consecrated. His seal, of about the year 1204, appended to a charter to the Abbey of Melrose, bears the inscription "✠ SIGILL FLORENCI GLASGUENSIS ELECTI." He resigned in 1207, and went to Rome, dying there in 1212.¹



North Aisle of Nave, from Transept.

WALTER, 1208-1232, the king's chaplain, was elected on the 5th of the Ides of December 1207, and consecrated by papal licence at Glasgow on the 2nd November 1208. Along with Bishop Malvoisin of St Andrews and the Bishop of Moray, Bishop Walter attended the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and three years later he journeyed again to Rome with the Bishops of Moray and Caithness, to have the interdict of the Legate Gualo absolved by the Pope.² In 1225 Honorius III. granted the Scottish bishops power to hold a Provincial Council to be called by a conservator elected by them. The Pope ordered a commission of inquiry on the 7th December 1219 anent nine serious charges made against this prelate.³ He died in 1232.

WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON, 1233-1258, Chancellor of the kingdom, was consecrated by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, in the Cathedral of Glasgow, on the Sunday after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1233. Hector Boece

¹ "Chron. Mailros;" Fordoun's "Scotichronicon."

³ Theiner's "Monumenta."

² See p. 70.

says that this prelate finished the cathedral, the building of which seems to have made little progress since the episcopate of Jocelin. At least the Lower Church and Choir were completed during Bishop Bondington's lifetime. In 1246 he founded the Blackfriars' Monastery. In 1255 he consecrated Gameline Bishop of St Andrews. Also, in 1258, he ordained that the Sarum, or Salisbury, constitution and customs be exactly ascertained, and adopted by the cathedral chapter. He resided much at Ancrum, as many charters are dated thereat. He died there on the 10th November 1258, and by his own desire was buried on the 13th in the Abbey Church of Melrose, near the High Altar.

NICHOLAS DE MOFFET, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, was prevented from obtaining consecration by King Alexander III. and some members of his chapter; and Pope Alexander IV. appointed instead

JOHN DE CHEAM or CHEYAM, 1260-1268, an Englishman, and consecrated him at Rome in 1260. He also was unpopular with his sovereign and chapter, the latter complaining of his intrusion, the former that he claimed the revenues of the See before taking the oath of fealty. In consequence, retiring abroad, he resided at the Roman Court. He died and was buried at Meaux, in France, in 1268.¹

NICHOLAS DE MOFFET, 1268-1270, again was elected, and obtained possession of the See, but was not consecrated. He died of apoplexy in 1270, at Tynningham, East Lothian.²

WILLIAM WISHART, 1270, of the family of Pitarrow, in the Mearns, Archdeacon of St Andrews and Chancellor of the kingdom, was next elected, but was postulated before his consecration to the See of St Andrews, where he ruled six years. He rebuilt most of the Cathedral of St Andrews, which had been blown down by a tempest. He died at Morebattle, in Teviotdale, 5to Kal. Jun. 1279, and was buried near the

¹ "Chron. Lanerc." 65, 387.

² In the "Chronicon de Lanercost," *sub anno* 1245, Moffet is described, *Semper liberalis, semper in omnibus abundavit, nam in fine vite electus obiit Glasguensis, quem ego terre commendavi in ecclesia sua de Tiningham.* ED.

High Altar of his cathedral, on the 4th of the Nones of June, the very day of his election.¹

ROBERT WISHART, 1272-1316, nephew to his predecessor, was consecrated on the Sunday before the Feast of the Purification, 1272, at Aberdeen, by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Dunblane. He consistently supported the national cause against Edward I., keeping no faith with the English, aiding in turn the efforts of Baliol and of Wallace.² When Robert the Bruce, friendless and a fugitive, raised the war-cry of Scotland, Bishop Wishart took his side. He absolved him for the sacrilegious slaughter of Cumyn in the Greyfriars' Church at Dumfries, prepared the robes and royal banner for his coronation, and himself at Scone set the circlet of gold on his head. In 1291 he got sixty oaks from Ettrick for the spire of his cathedral,³ along with twenty stags for his own use, from King Edward I., then Overlord of Scotland. The former he used in constructing engines of war against Edward's castles, especially the castle of Kirkintilloch, and with the venison he probably regaled Edward's chief enemies. He even preached against Edward, and armed and fought against him.⁴ Captured at last, in 1306, in the castle of Cupar, which he had held against the English, he remained a prisoner till the date of Bannockburn, in 1314, growing blind during his captivity. He survived his liberation only two years, died on the 26th November 1316, and was buried in his cathedral between the Altars of S. Peter and S. Andrew. His monument is still to be seen in the centre of the east end of the Lower Church.

STEPHEN DE DONYDON OR DUNDIMORE, 1317, of the ancient family of that ilk in Fife, was a canon of Glasgow, and chamberlain to King Robert. The bishop-elect being an enemy to the English interest, King Edward II. wrote to the Pope not to proceed with his consecration. He died *elect* on his way to Rome, "not without suspicion of poison given him at a feast made by the friars."⁵

¹ See Gordon's "Scotichronicon," i. 170-172.

² Wishart's famous speech to Edward I. at Norham, asserting the independence of Scotland, may be read in Spottiswood, i. 95, 96.—ED.

³ In 1277 he had already got a grant, for the same purpose, of timber from Maurice, Lord of Luss.

⁴ "Documents illustr. Hist. Scot.," pp. 343, 348.

⁵ Spottiswood.

JOHN DE EGLESCLIFF, 1318, was a Dominican friar, a penitentiary of the Pope, and was appointed to the See of Glasgow by Pope John XXII., on the 17th July 1318. It may be doubted if he ever got possession. He was translated to Connor, and from Connor to Llandaff, in 1323-24. He died on the 2nd January 1346-47.

JOHN WISHART, 1319-1322, formerly Archdeacon of Glasgow. While Wishart was still Archdeacon, King Edward held him prisoner successively in the castle of Conway, the city of Chester, and the Tower of London. In 1319 he conveyed the Chapel of S. Vey, on Little Cumbrae, to the Abbey of Paisley. He died in 1322.

JOHN LINDSAY, 1323-1335, a younger brother of the Lindsays of Crawford in Clydesdale, was Great Chamberlain of Scotland in 1318. A canon of Glasgow, he was promoted to the episcopate by King Robert the Bruce. In the following reign he adhered to Edward Baliol,¹ but, changing sides, appears to have been superseded in 1335. In 1337 this prelate, returning from Flanders to Scotland with two ships, aboard which were many noble ladies and men-at-arms, with much armour and £30,000 of money, as well as the articles of a treaty between France and Scotland, was encountered and taken, after a stout fight, by John de Ros, the English admiral, the Earls of Sarum and Huntingdon, etc. The Bishop was mortally wounded in the head. The bodies of the slain were buried in Wytsande, but the Bishop is said to have been interred in Glasgow Cathedral, near the Altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The fact, however, is dubious.²

WILLIAM RAE, 1335-1367, is said to have built, in 1345, seven arches of the original Glasgow Bridge,³ taken down in 1850, and replaced by the present Stockwell Bridge. Lady Lochow built the third of the eight arches. The south arch fell at noon on the day of Glasgow Fair, 7th July 1671, and albeit the great traffic of horse and foot, no harm happened. This Bishop died on the 27th January 1367. Bishop Rae it was who procured from Rome the dispensation enabling Robert II. to

¹ See p. 82.

² See p. 84.

³ See p. 85, *ante*.

marry Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Muir; evidence of which deed, discovered in the Glasgow Chartulary at a later period, established the long-disputed legitimacy of the Stewarts.

WALTER WARDLAW, 1368-1389, was of the family of Torry in Fife. Archdeacon of Lothian, and Secretary to the King, he was employed with distinction in several foreign embassies, and received the rank of Cardinal and Papal Legate in 1385. He and Beaton, in the sixteenth century, were the only Scottish bishops who became cardinals. His arms remain near the middle of the roof of the Choir, on the south side of the High Altar, having above them, in large gilt Saxon capitals, WALTERUS CARDINALIS. He died in 1389.

On his death the Pope tried to intrude JOHN FRAMISDEN, a friar minor, into the See, and craved the aid of King Richard II.,¹ but the essay was abortive.

MATTHEW GLENDINNING, 1389-1408, a native of Galloway, and canon of the Cathedral, succeeded peaceably to the bishopric. In 1392 a Mint was erected in the Drygate, where coins were struck. He prepared materials for building the central tower of the cathedral, but his death interrupted his design. He died on the 10th May 1408.

WILLIAM LAUDER, 1408-1425, Archdeacon of Lothian, son of Sir Allan Lauder of Hatton,² was promoted by the provision of Pope Benedict XIII., without the election of the chapter, which, however, did not oppose his installation.³ He began the existing tower, and placed his arms, a griffin salient, upon the centre of the perforated parapet. He also partly built the chapter-house. His arms are above the Dean's seat in the interior, and on the outside of the western wall.⁴ He became Chancellor in

¹ Nicolas's "Proceedings of the Privy Council," i. 95.

² Crawford's "Officers of State," Keith's "Cat. Scot. Bish." Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 57, mistakenly quoting his arms as "Three bars within an escutcheon, with mitre, crozier, and the badges of his official dignity," makes him son of Robert and Annabella Lauder of the Merse. But both on chapter-house and tower the arms remain a griffin salient.—ED.

³ Spottiswood.

⁴ The "foundation" of the chapter-house, however, may have been built before Lauder's time. See "The Cathedral Church," *infra*.—ED.

1423, and was one of those appointed to negotiate for the release of James I., then a prisoner at the English Court for eighteen years. He died on the 14th June 1425.¹

JOHN CAMERON, 1426-1446, of the family of Lochiel, had been secretary to the Earl of Douglas, who presented him to the Rectory of Cambuslang. In 1424 James I. made him Provost of Lincluden, and Secretary of State. He was also Chancellor from 1426 till 1440. He resumed the building of the chapter-house and sacristy above, and finished it. His arms are upon the central pillar, and on the western wall outside. Also, he completed the Lady Chapel and spire, and built the great tower of the castle or episcopal palace. The bishop increased the number of cathedral prebendaries to thirty-two,² and caused them to reside in manse built in the vicinity. Moreover, he established the Commissariat Courts of Glasgow, Hamilton, and Campsie, to be held thrice a week in the Consistory House, and obtained the sanction of the king to the establishment of a fair, called St Mungo's Fair, to be held in January yearly. As one of the two episcopal representatives of Scotland, he attended the General Council of Basle in 1431.³ He died at Lochwood, in the parish of Old Monkland, on Christmas Eve 1446.⁴

JAMES BRUCE, 1447, was a son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan. He was Rector of Kilmany, Fife, was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld at Dunfermline on the 4th February 1441, and held the office of Lord Chancellor. He was elected to Glasgow, but after a few months he died, without confirmation or investiture, at Edinburgh, in 1447.⁵

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 545.

² See p. 91, *note*.

³ "Rotuli Scotiæ," vol. ii. pp. 276, 284.

⁴ Buchanan narrates some prodigious circumstances attending the death of Bishop Cameron, representing them as a judgment on many acts of cruelty and rapine of which he had been guilty in his diocese ("Hist. Scot.," lib. xi. cap. 25). Spottiswood, i. 223, repeats the story. The acts alleged, however, appear to be as wanting in evidence as the ghostly demonstrations of the death-bed. In the "Auchinleck Chronicle," Bishop Cameron is mistakenly stated to have died "in the Castall of Glasgow." The date of his death only, is given in "Reg. Epus. Glasg." No. 545.—ED.

⁵ The delay in this prelate's investiture may be accounted for by the political circumstances of that troubled time. The bishop-elect's brother, Robert Bruce, had taken part in the seizure and imprisonment of the queen-mother, widow of James I., on August 3, 1439, for which, in 1449, he was forfeited and imprisoned in Dunbarton by James II. In 1447 the young king was just assuming power, and would be little inclined to further the interests of a disaffected family. See Tytler, "Hist. Scot.," *sub annis*, 1447-49.—ED.

WILLIAM TURNBULL, 1448-1454, a scion of the house of Turnbull of Minto, in Roxburghshire, was Canon of Barlanark and Lord of Provan in 1440, and became Archdeacon of Lothian, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was translated from Dunkeld to Glasgow in 1447-48, and consecrated in 1448. During his brief episcopate this far-seeing prelate secured immense privileges for Glasgow, and well earned the title of the greatest churchman of his age in Scotland. On 20th April 1450 he procured a charter from James II., raising the rank of the city from that of a burgh of barony to that of a burgh of regality. He also procured for Glasgow the erection of a university. This was constituted, by a Bull of Pope Nicholas V., dated the 7th of the Ides of January 1450-51, with the same privileges, liberties, and honours as the University of Bologna.¹

ANDREW MUIRHEAD, 1455-1473, Rector of Cadzow, of the house of Lachope, Lanarkshire, became one of the Commission of Regency in the minority of James III.; was several times appointed a commissioner to treat with England, and was one of the ambassadors sent to negotiate the marriage of James with the Princess Margaret of Denmark. He first founded the Vicars Choral, and built apartments for them.² He also founded and endowed, about the year 1460, S. Nicholas's Hospital, an almshouse for twelve indigent old men and a chaplain, of which the Lord Provost is Preceptor, and nominates pensioners to the present day. Bishop Muirhead died on the 20th November 1473, and was buried in the choir.³

JOHN LAING, 1473-1482-83, of the family of Redhouse, Midlothian, was Lord Treasurer of the kingdom, Rector of Tannadice in the Mearns, and Vicar of Linlithgow. On the recommendation of James III. he was

¹ "Item, in that samyn yer (MCCCCXLIX) Master William Turnbill said his first Mess in Glasgow the XX day of September.

"That samyn yer (MCCCCLI) the Privilege of the Universite of Glasgou come to Glasqw throw the instance of king James the secund, and throw instigacioun of Master William Turnbull, that tyme bischop of Glasqw, and was proclamit at the Croce of Glasqw, on the Trinite Sondag, the XX day of June. And on the morne thar was cryit ane gret Indulgence gevin to Glasqw, at the request of thaim forsaide, be Pap Nycholas, as it war the yer of Grace, and with all Indulgens that thai mycht haf in Rome, contenand iiii monethis begynnand the IX day of Julii, and durand to the X day of November.

"The samyn yer MCCCCLVI., the third day of December thar decessit in Glasqw, Master William Turnbull, Bischope of Glasqw that brocht haim the perdoun of it."—"Auchinleck Chronicle," pp. 41, 45, 55. [He died at Rome on the 3rd September 1454. See "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 545.—ED.]

² See "The Hall of the Vicars Choral," *infra*.

³ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 545.

provided to the bishopric by the Pope. He was made Chancellor in 1481, is said to have founded the church of the Grey Friars, off High Street, and died in the odour of sanctity on the 11th January 1483.¹

GEORGE CARMICHAEL, 1483-1484, Rector of Carnwath, and treasurer of the diocese, was elected to the See on the 18th March 1483, but going to Rome for consecration, he died on his voyage.²

ARCHBISHOPS OF GLASGOW.

ROBERT BLACADER, 1484-1508, of the family of Blacader in Berwickshire, was Bishop of Aberdeen, and previously a prebendary of Glasgow. In 1489 it was "concludit and ordanit be our soverane lord and his three estatis, that for the honour and gud public of the realme, the sege of Glasgw be erect in ane archibischoprik, with sic privilegiis as accordis of law, and siclike as the archibischoprik of York has in all dignitez, emunitis, and previlegiis."³ In consequence, by a Bull dated the 5th of the Ides of January 1491-92, Pope Alexander VI. raised Glasgow to an archbishopric, and granted Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle to be its suffragans.⁴ Archbishop Blacader stood high in the favour of King James, was much employed in political affairs, and, among other delicate matters, formed one of the embassy sent to England to arrange the marriage of the Scottish monarch with the daughter of James VII. During Blacader's time occurred the first difficulties with the holders of Reforming tenets.⁵

Blacader built the beautiful crypt at the south transept, known to the present day as Blacader's Aisle. He also built the fine Rood-Screen, and the decorated flights of steps from the aisles of the nave

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 545. Crawford's "Officers of State," p. 39.

² Alive May 17, 1484 ("Act. Parl.," ii. p. 166).

³ "Act. Parl.," ii. 213.

⁴ For long, St Andrews, which had been made an archbishopric seventeen years earlier, declined to acknowledge the elevation of Glasgow. Thus, in 1517, Gavin Douglas, postulated to Dunkeld, was twice consecrated, first by Archbishop Beaton at Glasgow, and afterwards at St Andrews by the primate, Andrew Forman, who, even so late in the day, refused to recognise the consecration at Glasgow—ED.

⁵ Robertson's "Ayrshire Families," iii. 369. See *supra*, p. 109.

to the choir, and completed the descending archways to the Lower Church. He was the last prelate who continued the building of the cathedral. At an advanced age he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died, according to Lesley, when almost in sight of the Holy Land, July 28, 1508.¹

JAMES BETHUNE or BEATON, 1508-1523, only surviving son of John Betoun of Balfour, in Fife, was bishop-elect of Galloway for one year before he was raised to the archbishopric. He obtained likewise the abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning *in commendam*. On his elevation to the archbishopric he resigned the office of Lord Treasurer, which he previously held. Eleven days after Flodden he crowned the infant King James V. in Stirling Castle, and in 1515 became Chancellor of the kingdom under the Regent Albany. He took a stirring part in the politics of the time, siding with the Hamiltons against the Douglasses.² As became a warlike noble of the Church, he enclosed his episcopal castle at Glasgow with a great wall of ashlar work, having a bastion on one angle and a stately tower on the other, fronting High Street, and fixed his coat of arms in several places. He also added to the altars in the choir.³

He was translated to St Andrews on the death of Archbishop Forman in 1523. There he died in 1539, and was buried before the High Altar. On his translation to St Andrews he resigned his abbacy of Arbroath to his nephew David, Rector of Campsie and Cambuslang, who became the powerful Cardinal Beaton of Queen Mary's time.

GAVIN DUNBAR, 1524-1547, tutor to James V., and Prior of Whithorn, was nephew of the Bishop of Aberdeen of the same name, and a younger brother of Sir John Dunbar of Mochram. He was consecrated at Edinburgh, February 5, 1524-25. From 1528 to 1543 he was Chancellor of the kingdom, and it was upon his advice that James V. instituted the College of Justice, now the Supreme Court of Scotland. The new institution was confirmed in 1534 by Pope Clement VII. As an endowment for it, a Provincial Council of the Bishops, convened at Edinburgh on Ash Wednesday, 1536, agreed to an annual tax on the clergy. The president of the court was always to be an ecclesiastic, and seven of the

¹ Also "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 545.

² See p. 113.

³ "Reg. Epus. Glasg." Also Keith's "Catalogue," pp. 255, 256.

fourteen judges were to be clerical. The Abbot of Cambuskenneth was first president.

In 1538 the high powers of the Church determined, against the inclination of the gentle archbishop, to use extreme measures against the heretics of the west, and a commission of three was sent from Edinburgh to stimulate the metropolitan. As a consequence, Jeremiah Russel, a learned member of the Grey Friars in Glasgow, and John Kennedy, a youth of eighteen belonging to Ayr, were burned at the east end of Glasgow Cathedral.

To lessen the friction between St Andrews and Glasgow, the Pope, at the instance of King James, in 1530 annulled the office of legate hitherto held by the primate, and on September 21, 1531, exempted Glasgow from any jurisdiction on the part of the Archbishop of St Andrews. So late as 1545, however, if John Knox is to be believed, the struggle took a personal form at the choir door in Glasgow, an altercation occurring between Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Dunbar as to the precedence of the processional crosses. Knox has it that the crosses were both broken in the scuffle.

Archbishop Dunbar was present at the trial of Sir John Borthwick at St Andrews in 1540.

Besides founding the collegiate churches of Biggar, in Lanarkshire, and of St Thenau's Gate, now Trongate, Glasgow, Dunbar built a handsome gatehouse to the castle. By his will, also, confirmed May 30, 1548, and now in the General Register House, Edinburgh, he directed two bells to be founded and hung at his expense in the Campanile or Western Tower.¹

On his death, April 30, 1547, the Archbishop was buried to the south of the High Altar in the choir of his cathedral. There his tomb was found during repairs in 1856, and its contents now lie at the foot of the steps leading from the great western door into the nave. The character of Dunbar drew an elegant panegyric from the pen of George Buchanan, the historian.²

¹ For the subsequent history of the great bell, see "The Western Towers," *infra*.

² Splendida cæna epulæ lantæ ambitione remota . . .

Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide,

Ipse alios supra facundo prominet ore.

—"Epigr.," i. 43.

A detailed account of Dunbar's life is given in Brunton and Haig's "Senators of the College of Justice," pp. 1-5.—ED.

ALEXANDER GORDON, 1550-1551, brother of the Earl of Huntly, was elected by the chapter, but the choice was not agreeable to the Court of Rome, nor to the Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, and he resigned. As a solatium, the Pope made him titular Bishop of Athens, and the Regent conferred on him the bishopric of the Isles and the abbacy of Inchaffray. At a later day he professed the doctrines of the Reformation.¹

JAMES BETHUNE or BEATON, 1551-1560, was the last surviving prelate of the ancient hierarchy. He was a nephew of Cardinal Beaton who was murdered at St Andrews, and he himself, before his elevation to the archbishopric, held the abbacy of Arbroath *in commendam*.² Though only a layman, twenty-seven years of age at his election, he was elevated through the orders of priesthood in five days, and consecrated at Rome, August 28, 1552. Five years later he was one of the commission sent to France to witness the espousals of Queen Mary and the Dauphin, and on April 24, 1558, he was present when the marriage was celebrated in Notre Dame. On the outbreak of the Reformation in 1560, Archbishop Beaton retired to France, carrying with him, and depositing in the Scots College at Paris, the archives and treasures of Glasgow Cathedral. At the Court of France he was appointed ambassador or agent for Queen Mary, and after her death was employed in the same capacity by James VI. In 1598 he was restored.³

PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOPS.

JOHN PORTERFIELD, 1571-1572, minister of Kilmaronock, was appointed tulchan⁴ or titular archbishop by the reforming party. He consented to the disposal of the manse of the Rector of Glasgow to Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill.⁵

JAMES BOYD, 1572-1581, of Trochrig, a younger son of Adam Boyd of Pinkhill and Helen Kennedy of the house of Cassillis, took part, on the

¹ Bellesheim, "History," ii. 195, 292; iii. 31. *Supra*, p. 123.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," Nos. 505 and 513.

³ See *infra*, p. 191.

⁴ A term signifying a model or semblance. A calf's skin stuffed with straw and placed before a cow to induce her to let down her milk, was termed a tulchan. Porterfield and his three successors were called Tulchan Archbishops, as their appointment was merely intended to enable them to deal legally with the temporalities of the See.

⁵ Keith, "Cat. Scot. Bish.," p. 260. Wodrow's "Collections," i. 451, Maitland Club.

side of Queen Mary, at the battle of Langside in 1568. He obtained, however, a "remission," and became minister of Kirkoswald, whence he was preferred to the archbishopric. He feued the lands of Bedlay to his uncle, Lord Boyd, and the lands of Bridgend and Gorbals to George Elphinston, merchant in Glasgow. His tomb, next that of Archbishop Dunbar in Glasgow Cathedral, was ransacked in 1804.¹ His son, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, one of the most celebrated scholars of his time, afterwards became Principal of Glasgow University.²

ROBERT MONTGOMERY, 1581-1585, was previously minister of Stirling. His installation at Glasgow was resisted on account of his doctrine and morals, and the rumour that he had obtained the benefice by a bargain to hand over the chief possessions of the See to the Duke of Lennox. A disgraceful tumult was the result at Glasgow, and he was stoned out of Edinburgh by the mob.³ Forced to resign the archbishopric, he became minister of Symington. He afterwards resided at Stewarton, where he died in great misery.⁴

WILLIAM ERSKINE, 1585-1587, a brother of the house of Balgony, and nephew to the Earl of Mar, was previously parson of Campsie and commendator of Paisley. He received the archbishopric in lieu of the abbacy of Paisley, which he resigned to Lord Claud Hamilton. He remained, however, a layman, and was knighted by James VI. His daughter married Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling, who erected a monument over his grave in the church at Stirling.⁵ On Erskine's death the temporalities were annexed by the Crown.

JAMES BEATON, 1598-1603, was restored to the revenues of the royalty of Glasgow as a reward for his services as ambassador at the

¹ "Glasghu Facies," i. 79. His life is given in Wodrow's "Collections," vol. i. p. 205, and Notes C and D.

² His life forms the subject of Wodrow's "Collections," vol. ii.

³ "Mr Robert wes excommunicat baithe in Libbertoun and Dalkeithe and Edinburgh: quhaire, efterhend resoirting from St Johnstoun, he wes oppinlie onbeset be lasses and rascalis of the toun, and howeid out of the toun be flinging of stones at him, out at the kirk of feild porte, and narrowly escaipid with his lyfe."—Moysie's "Memoirs," p. 36, Bannatyne Club; Calderwood's "History," p. 126. See *supra*, p. 145.

⁴ Keith's "Catalogue," p. 261.

⁵ M'Ure.

Court of France, "notwithstanding that he hes never maid confession of his faith, and hes never acknowledgeit the religion profest within this realm."¹ He did not, however, return to Scotland. Owing to the connection of Scotland with the House of Guise, he took part with the League against Henri IV., and, on the dissolution of the League in 1593, was threatened with expulsion from France. By the intervention, however, of Cardinal Bourbon and Sully, and the favour of the king himself, he was suffered to remain in the country. He enjoyed there the incomes of the Abbey de la Sie, in Poitou, and of the priory of St Peter's, besides the treasurership of St Hilary of Poitiers. He died April 25, 1603, having survived Archbishop Hamilton, the Primate of Scotland, by thirty-two years. He was buried in the church of St Jean Lateran, at Paris, his tomb in the Chapel of the Virgin bearing the inscription, "Sacratus Romæ 1552: obiit 1603: ætatis suæ 86." He left all his goods to the Scots College, which looked on him as its second founder. A monograph of his life, by Archbishop Eyre, was published by H. Margey, Glasgow, in 1891.² On his death the lands were erected into a temporal lordship in favour of Ludovic, Duke of Lennox.

JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, 1612-1615, was one of the two sons of John Spottiswood of Spottiswood in the Merse, and succeeded his father as parson of Calder, his birthplace, at the age of twenty. In 1609 he broke into the house of the former abbot of New Abbey, and on a market day, in the High Street of Dumfries, burnt the copes, chalices, pictures, images, and other "popish trash" which he had found.³ Following the establishment of Episcopacy, he was made Archbishop of Glasgow. He began re-covering with lead the roof of the cathedral, which had been stripped at the Reformation. He also repaired the Bishop's Castle. In his time John Ogilvie, a Jesuit from the College of Gratz, suspected of being an emissary of the Pope, was seized at Glasgow, and, after examination by the archbishop, was tortured, tried, found guilty, and hanged.⁴ In 1615 Spottiswood was translated to St Andrews, and at the Scottish coronation of

¹ "Act. Parl." iv. 169. See *supra*, pp. 128, 190.

² Beaton appears to have been recognised as a patron of the literature of his country, for in 1574 the famous scholar, John Ferrerius, addressed to him his edition of the eighteenth book of Boethius. See Boethius, ed. 1575, p. 355.—ED.

³ "Privy Council Records."

⁴ Spottiswood, "Glasghu Facies," i. 141.

Charles I. at Edinburgh, in 1633, he set the crown on the King's head. At the Jenny Geddes riot he was in the gallery of St Giles, and shouted for the authority of the magistrates, running narrow escapes for his life afterwards in the streets. He was excommunicated by the revolutionary Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, died at London in the following year, and was buried near James VI. in Westminster Abbey. His "History of the Church of Scotland" remains, perhaps, the best authority on the events of his own period.

JAMES LAW, 1615-1632, son of John Law of Spittel, near Dunfermline,¹ was minister first at Kirkliston, then at Glasgow, became Bishop of Orkney in 1610, and was promoted to Glasgow on the translation of Archbishop Spottiswood. He completed the covering of the cathedral roof with lead. His monument in the Lady Chapel was erected by his third wife, Marion Boyle, daughter of John Boyle of Kelburn.² Law was an ardent enforcer of episcopal forms. On one occasion he went to some University students whom he saw seated at the Communion table, and commanded them to rise, if they would not receive the elements in a kneeling position. His interference excited the indignation of the Principal, the celebrated Robert Boyd of Trochrig, who next day, along with Robert Blair and the other regents of the University, expostulated with the Archbishop for dealing at Christ's table "as imperiously as if removing his horse-boys from the bye-board."³

PATRICK LINDSAY, 1632-1638, of the family of Edzell, an old branch of the Earls of Crawford, was minister of St Vigeans, near Arbroath, and was preferred to the See of Ross by James VI. in 1613. At Glasgow he displayed much toleration, and was against enforcing the use of the Liturgy. But with the other bishops he was excommunicated by the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and on the outbreak of the Civil War he retired by the King's orders to Newcastle. He died at York in 1644. He was then so destitute that he was buried by a few poor men.⁴

ANDREW FAIRFOWL, 1661-1663, a native of Wester Anstruther, Fifeshire, where his father was latterly minister, was educated for the

¹ M'Ure, ed. M'Vean, p. 34.

² See "Monuments and Inscriptions," *infra*.

³ "Life of Mr Robert Blair," written by himself, p. 37; "Life of Mr John Livingston," written by himself, p. 6.

⁴ Grub, "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," iii. 88.

Church, and became minister of Dunse and North Leith. On the restoration of Episcopacy by Charles II., he was made Archbishop of Glasgow. Archbishop Sharp and he and Bishop Leighton were re-ordained priests, before they were consecrated bishops, in Westminster Abbey, Sunday, December 15, 1661. It was on Fairfowl's complaint that the quorum of Privy Council, under the Earl of Middleton, which met at Glasgow in 1662, decreed the expulsion of nonconforming ministers, an act which emptied over four hundred pulpits in the country, and sounded the first note of the persecution which was to cause the shedding of so much Covenanting blood. Fairfowl died at Edinburgh in his fifty-seventh year, and was buried in the Abbey of Holyrood.

ALEXANDER BURNET, 1664-1669, son of John Burnet, minister of Lauder, of the family of Burnet of Barns, an ancient house in Tweeddale, was successively chaplain to his relative, the Earl of Traquair, and rector of a place in Kent. On Cromwell's usurpation he was ejected and fled the country, but at the Restoration became chaplain to his cousin, General Lord Rutherford, Governor of Dunkirk. Appointed Bishop of Aberdeen in 1663, he was promoted less than a year afterwards to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. In consequence, however, of a difference with the Duke of Lauderdale, who desired at that time to try a more conciliatory policy with the Covenanters, Burnet was deprived of his archbishopric in 1669,¹ and retired for five years into private life.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, 1671-1674, was the eldest son of Alexander Leighton, M.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, and sometime minister in London.² He was first ordained in 1641 Presbyterian minister of Newbattle,³ and was Principal of Edinburgh University in 1653, but at the Restoration became Bishop of Dunblane. On the deprivation of Archbishop Burnet he was granted the See of Glasgow *in commendam*. After his settlement he made great efforts to bring about an accommodation between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The only result, however, was to draw on his head the censure of both parties,

¹ See Fountainhall's "Chronological Notes," p. 184.

² For a virulent Puritanic libel, "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," Alexander Leighton was sentenced by the Star Chamber to have his nostrils slit, his ears cut off, and his face branded; to be twice scourged and pilloried, to pay a fine of £10,000, and to be imprisoned for life in the Fleet.—"Glasghu Facies," i. 196.

³ A wing of his manse there, his old pulpit, and the sacramental cups which he used, still remain.

and, finding his efforts fruitless, he with difficulty obtained permission to resign the archbishopric. After leading a secluded life in Sussex for ten years, he died at a London inn in 1684. The monument erected by his sister is still to be seen above his grave in the church of Horsted Keynes, Sussex. With the reputation of a saint, he left voluminous literary works which glow with choice and beautiful expressions. His MSS. and library he bequeathed to Dunblane for the use of the clergy of the diocese,¹ and he had previously mortified various sums of money to the poor of Dunblane, to Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, and to St Nicholas's Chapel, Glasgow, of which he was the last benefactor.

ALEXANDER BURNET, 1674-1679, was restored to the archbishopric on the retirement of Dr Leighton. During his time the troubles with the Covenanters increased. In 1676, on the information of Archbishop Burnet, James Dunlop of Househill, Bailie-Depute of the Regality of Glasgow, was fined 1000 merks by the Privy Council for allowing conventicles to be held at Partick, Woodside, and elsewhere. In 1678 the Committee of Council met in Glasgow, and the "Highland Host" was quartered in the city, for the enforcement of the prelatie Bond against nonconformity. And in 1679 Sir William Fleming of Farme, Commissary of Glasgow, was fined 4000 merks for his wife attending conventicles at Langside and the Craigs of Glasgow, and allowing Presbyterian ministers to preach in her house in Edinburgh. An interesting account of the archbishop's treatment of a conventicle discovered in a house in Saltmarket, is given in one of his own letters, reproduced in the present volume.² On the murder of Archbishop Sharp, Burnet was translated to St Andrews, where he died in 1684.³ His contemporary, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, the historian, describes him as of blameless private life, but his strong bias against Presbyterianism rendered his episcopate an unhappy period for Glasgow and the west of Scotland. The rigidity of himself and his brother-prelate, Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, largely contributed to bring about the troubles of 1679. In the east country, on 3rd May of that year, Sharp

¹ His library is still to be seen, housed in a small building near the cathedral there.—See "Account of the Foundation," Bannatyne Miscellany.

² Page 166, *supra*.

³ Fountainhall's "Chronological Notes," pp. 42 and 99. He died in the *Novum Hospitium*, of which the gateway still stands at the side of the Pends Road, and he was buried in St Salvator's Chapel, near the tomb of Bishop James Kennedy.

was himself murdered by the Covenanters. A month later the Covenanters of the west country were in arms, defeating Claverhouse at Drumclog, and pursuing him into the Gallowgate of Glasgow; and, on June 22nd, the matter came to the issue of a pitched battle at Bothwell Bridge.

ARTHUR ROSS, 1679-1684, son of Alexander Ross, minister of Birse, Aberdeenshire, of the family of Kilravock, in Nairnshire, was minister, first at Kinerny, next at Old Deer, and in 1665 was parson of Glasgow. In 1676, still remaining parson of Glasgow, he was preferred to the See of Argyle. On 5th September 1679 he was elected Bishop of Galloway, but before translation to that see he was elevated to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. At that time the Duke of York, afterwards James VII., was resident at Holyrood, and directing the affairs of Scotland. In 1681 he paid a visit to Glasgow, and was welcomed by the citizens with bonfires, ringing of bells, and acclamations of joy. Archbishop Ross went out to meet him, and entertained him to dinner next day at "the Halcat."¹ During Ross's episcopate, in 1684, a number of Covenanters were hanged at Glasgow Cross and their heads set on spikes on the Tolbooth steeple. They were buried in the cathedral yard, a little westward of the chapter-house, and are commemorated on the Martyr's Stone, now within the building.² In the same year James Nisbet, James Lawson, and Alexander Wood also suffered at the foot of Garngad Hill in Castle Street, where the Martyr's Fountain and its inscription still perpetuate their memory. On the death of Burnet, Ross succeeded to the primacy, and he was Archbishop of St Andrews when Episcopacy was overthrown by the Revolution of 1688. He died at Edinburgh in 1704, and was buried at Restalrig. His daughter Annie became the mother of the sixth Lord Balmerino, beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746.

ALEXANDER CAIRNCROSS, 1684-1687, was the son of a dyer in Edinburgh, representative of the ancient family of Cowmislie. Settled first as a minister at Dumfriess, he was preferred, through the influence of the Duke of Queensberry, first to the Bishopric of Brechin, and, later in the same year, to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. In 1687, along with his patron, he showed himself averse in the matter of King James's design to

¹ Law's "Memorials"; M'Ure, ed. M'Vean, p. 127, *note*.

² See "Monuments and Inscriptions," *infra*.

remove the tests and penal laws against Catholics, and, in consequence, by virtue of the royal supremacy, he was deprived of the archbishopric. After the Revolution, by the influence of Lord Drumlanrig, he was appointed, in 1693, Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland. He died in 1701, aged sixty-five.

JOHN PATERSON, 1687-1689, son of the Bishop of Ross, was successively Dean of Edinburgh, Bishop of Galloway, and Bishop of Edinburgh, before his elevation to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. His promotion was owed to the ardour with which he served the wishes of the Court, labouring for the concurrence of the bishops, and using his utmost endeavours to move the Parliament to comply with the king's desires as to removing the penal laws. After the Revolution he appears to have been imprisoned for some time in Edinburgh Castle,¹ and he was also abroad for a time. He was subsequently, in 1697, allowed to return for his health's sake, and reside successively at Cupar Fife, and in the mansions of Airth, Stirlingshire, and Edgar, Clackmannanshire. He died at Edinburgh, 8th December 1708, aged seventy-six, and was buried in Holyrood Chapel, near the great oriel. He was twice married, and left a family of seventeen, of whom the eldest, Sir John, succeeded to his properties in Fife, Stirling, Perth, Banff, Edinburgh, Haddington, and Argyle.

MINISTERS.

INNER HIGH CHURCH.

(1) ALEXANDER LAUDER, 1560, Parson of Glasgow under the old hierarchy, was, though a Catholic, allowed to retain the benefice till his death.²

(2) ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, 1568, a younger son of Richard, natural son of James II., was Parson of Douglas, and in 1565 became one of the Lords of Session. Cognisant of the murders of Rizzio and Darnley, and a bitter enemy to Queen Mary, he retired to France for three years. In

¹ An indignant letter against his calumniators, dated thence, is quoted in "Glasghu Facies," i. 216.

² Cleland's "Annals," i. 124. Particulars of an action to compel him to supply bread and wine for the Communion are given *supra*, p. 134.

the year of Mary's defeat at Langside he was presented to the parsonage of Glasgow by the Regent Moray, agreeing to pay the acting minister a stipend of £200 Scots yearly. On the last day of 1580, he was accused before the King and Council of being accessory to Darnley's murder, and, having immediate word at his residence, Morham Castle, he fled to England next morning. In 1586 he was allowed to return, when he leased the teinds of his parsonage to Lord Blantyre, for a yearly payment of 300 merks to himself, and 800 merks to the two ministers of Glasgow.¹ He was deposed for non-residence and neglect, 13th March 1593, but continued to draw the fruits for some years longer. His wife was Lady Jane Hepburn, widow of John, Master of Caithness.

(3) DAVID WEMYS, 1561, was translated from Ratho, and for twenty-six years remained the sole acting minister of the city and barony of Glasgow. His salary, paid by the town, was, to begin with, 240 merks (£13, 6s. 8d.).² He resided in Rottenrow, in the manse formerly occupied by the prebendary of Carstairs. He was occupying the pulpit of the cathedral on the day when Archbishop Montgomery came to take possession, and he was taken out by the Provost, armed with royal authority.³ In 1587, in coming from kirk he was attacked at the Wynd-head with whinger and pistolet by William Cunningham and his son, who called him a liar, and struck him on the neck and breast. Wemys, however, gave a good account of himself, wrapping his Geneva gown round his arm, and drawing his own whinger, and presently, joined by Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew, armed with a "whittle," he beat off his assailants. He was elected Rector of the University in 1593, 1595, 1598, and 1602. On 5th August 1600 he was asserted to be "declynand in doctrine, negligent in preparation, and oftentimes overtaken with drink." But he continued in his charge, was appointed Parson of Glasgow by James I. in 1601, and died "father of the Church" on 10th September 1615.⁴ By his wife, Christian Jameson, he left a son and three daughters, the youngest of whom married James Bell, merchant and burgess of Glasgow.

(4) JOHN COWPER, colleague, 1587, was translated from Edinburgh and settled as second minister under the arrangement made with Lord

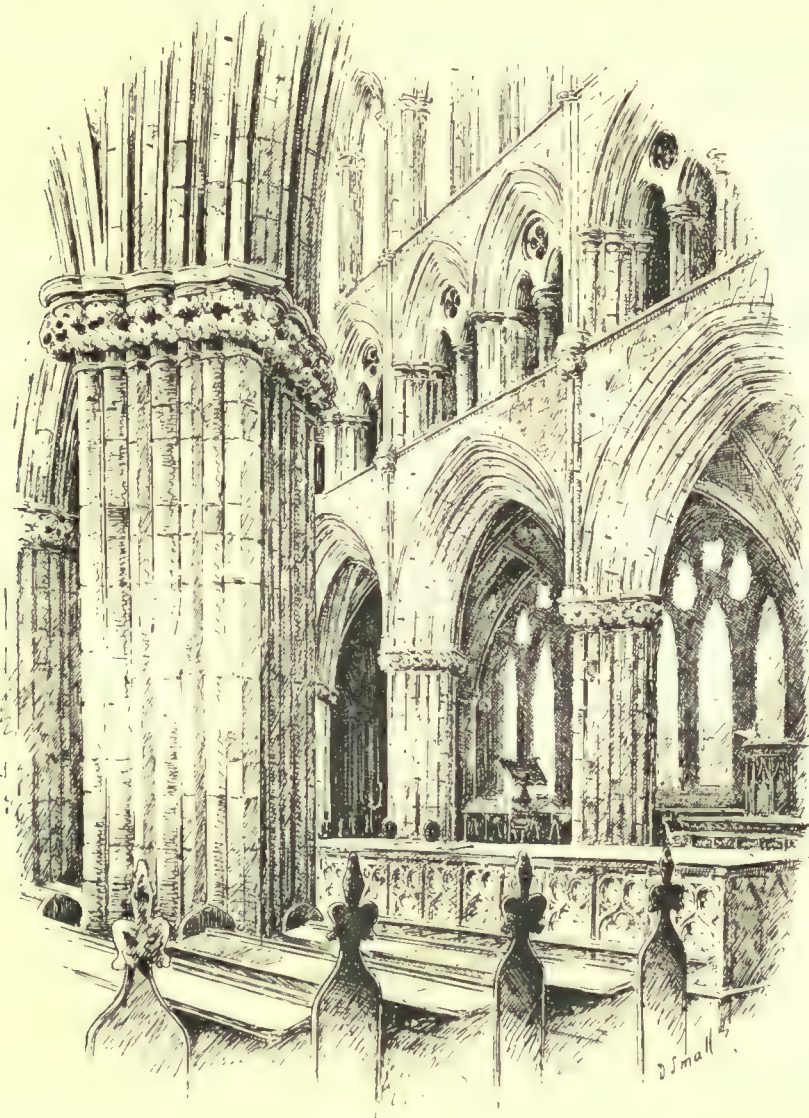
¹ See *supra*, p. 141.

² See p. 134.

³ See p. 144.

⁴ A life of Wemys is among the unpublished MSS. of Wodrow in the library of Glasgow University. See also Scott's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ." See *supra*, p. 150.

Blantyre by Parson Archibald Douglas. His share of the payment by Lord Blantyre was 300 merks yearly. After two years of his ministry,



Choir from South-east.

the town, to show its satisfaction, added a substantial sum.¹ In 1597, at the instance of Margaret Aiken, a woman accused of witchcraft, who, to save her life had agreed to discover all other witches by a mark in their

¹ See *supra*, p. 141. "Memorabilia of Glasgow," p. 34.

eyes, several women were condemned and put to death in Glasgow, through Cowper's credulity. "Too late she was found to be an impostor, for those condemned by her one day, when brought to her the next, in different dresses, she acquitted."¹ Cowper died 25th December 1603.

(5) ROBERT SCOTT, colleague, 1604, was in 1609 sent as the town's special commissioner to entreat the King's help for the upkeep of the cathedral, etc.² He succeeded to the first charge, and was presented to the parsonage by King James in 1616, after the death of David Wemyss. In the latter year he was one of those appointed by the Assembly to revise the Canons, Confession of Faith, etc., and in 1617 he was one of forty-two ministers who signed a protestation for the liberties of the Kirk. He was Rector of the University in 1618, 1619, 1621-1626. In 1620 he was summoned before the Court of High Commission for not conforming to the Articles of Perth. He died 18th January 1629, aged about fifty-two. By his wife, Agnes Hamilton, he had four sons and one daughter.

(6) WILLIAM STRUTHERS, colleague, 1612, Lenzie and Edinburgh.

(7) JOHN MAXWELL, 1629, translated from Eastwood, had charge of the west quarter of the city. He was elected Rector of the University in 1636, and was deposed from his charge in 1639 for opposing the National Covenant. He became parson of Killyleagh in Ireland, but on the outbreak of rebellion in 1643, returned and settled at Eastwood. He died in 1666, aged seventy-seven. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of James Stewart, tutor of Blackhall, he had two sons:—(1) George, who took orders in the Church of Ireland, got a conveyance of Nether Pollok, was knighted by Charles II., and died in 1677; (2) Zacharias of Blawarthill, who is represented by Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Pollok.

(8) DAVID DICKSON, colleague, 1640, Professor of Divinity in the University. Translated to Edinburgh. He was author of a work entitled "Therapeutica Sacra."

(9) EDWARD WRIGHT, 1641, was translated from Clackmannan, and had charge of the east quarter of the city. He was elected Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, but the General Assembly refused to confirm the appointment. Translated to Falkirk in 1646, he became Principal of Glasgow University in 1662.³

¹ Brown's "Glasgow," p. 39.

² See *supra*, pp. 151, 152.

³ For the arrangements made for filling the various city pulpits, not yet erected into separate charges in Wright's time, see *supra*, pp. 158, 159.

(10) ROBERT RAMSAY, colleague, 1646, translated from Blackfriars, obtained the first charge in 1647. In 1648 he was elected Rector, and in 1651 Principal of the University. He died 4th September 1651, aged fifty-three.

(11) JAMES DURHAM, 1651, eldest son of John Durham of Easter Powrie, lived the life successively of a country gentleman and a captain in the army, but was awakened to religious thoughts by a sermon of Melvill, minister of Queensferry. He was minister of Blackfriars and Court Chaplain from 1647,¹ and became an able preacher and voluminous author. For his second wife he married Margaret Mure, widow of Zachary Boyd, the celebrated minister of the Barony. Durham died of consumption on 25th June 1658, aged thirty-seven, and was the first to be buried in Blacader's Aisle after that place had been formally set apart for the city clergy.²

(12) JOHN CARSTAIRS, colleague, 1655, translated from the Barony; attended the Earl of Argyle on the Sabbath before his execution. Deprived in 1660.

(13) RALPH RODGER, 1659, son of William Rodger, burgess of Ayr, was translated from Ardrossan. As a protester against Episcopacy he was deprived in 1662,³ but at Kilwinning, seven years later, was the first clergyman to receive the "Indulgence." He was fined half his stipend in 1673 for failing to celebrate the anniversary of the Restoration. On the withdrawal of the "Indulgence" in 1684, he refused to give his bond not to exercise his ministry, and was, in consequence, imprisoned at Edinburgh. He was restored to his charge at Glasgow in 1688, and died two years later, aged sixty-four. He was twice married, and a daughter, Maria, was served his heir.

(14) ARTHUR ROSS, 1664, was promoted to the archbishopric. See page 196.

(15) RICHARD WADDELL, 1682, had previously been minister at St Andrews, Dunbar, Stenton, and Kelso, and had refused a call to Glasgow in 1662.⁴ He was presented to Glasgow by Archbishop Ross, and had charge of the north quarter of the city. He was elected Rector of the University for three years. In 1684 he was translated to the Archdeaconry of St Andrews.

¹ Cleland's "Annals," i. 124.

² See *supra*, p. 161. For further particulars regarding Durham, and Cromwell's opinion of his preaching, see "Monuments and Inscriptions," *infra*.

³ See *supra*, p. 165.

⁴ *Ibid.*

(16) ARCHIBALD INGLIS, 1685, had ministered at Douglas, Westerkirk, Lochmaben, and Ashkirk. In 1686 the University conferred on him the degree of D.D., and he was elected Rector in that and the two following years. Having deserted his charge, he was called to Falkirk in 1691, but the call was not sustained, and he went to Ireland and adopted another occupation.

(17) RALPH RODGER, 1688. Noticed above.

(18) JAMES BROWN, 1690, had been minister in one of the meeting-houses. He married, in 1689, Isabella Boyle, and died 30th April 1714.

(19) GEORGE CAMPBELL, 1715, was translated from Stair. He died 21st February 1748.

(20) JOHN GRAY, colleague, 1693, was translated to the Wynd church in 1700.

(21) JOHN HAMILTON, 1749, son of the minister of the Blackfriars, was translated from the Barony on the presentation of George II. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1766, and received the degree of D.D. from Glasgow University ten years later. He died 3rd February 1780, aged sixty-six. He was twice married, and had four sons and three daughters.

(22) WILLIAM TAYLOR, 1780, a native of Gask, in Strathearn, was translated from Paisley on the presentation of George III. He received the degree of D.D. from Glasgow University in 1783, was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1798, and became Principal of the University in 1803. An active promoter of public charities, he was elected an honorary burgess of Glasgow. By his wife, Ann Stewart, he had five sons and two daughters. He died 29th March 1823, in the fifty-first year of his ministry. His portrait, by Sir Henry Raeburn, was lent to the Old Glasgow Exhibition of 1894.¹

(23) DUNCAN MACFARLAN, 1823, son of Duncan Macfarlan, minister of Drymen, was born at Auchingray, 27th September 1771, and succeeded his father at Drymen. He received the degree of D.D. from Glasgow in 1806, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Divinity chair in 1814. He was also a candidate for the Tron Church, but was defeated by Dr Chalmers by a narrow majority. He was presented to the cathedral by George IV., and became Principal of the University at the same time. His settlement was opposed by the lower courts on account of his holding a plurality

¹ See "Catalogue," pp. 61 and 206.

of offices, but the General Assembly admitted him by a majority of 165 to 80. He was Moderator of the Assembly in 1819 and 1843, and during the trying times preceding the Disruption, he was "one of the most active and trusted leaders of the moderate party." On Her Majesty Queen Victoria's visit to the cathedral in 1849, the venerable Principal Macfarlan was her conductor over the building. He died "father of the Church" on 25th November 1857. By his cousin Anne, daughter of the Rev. John Allan of Row, he had five sons and four daughters.¹ His portrait, by John Graham Gilbert, R.S.A., is in possession of the University.

(24) JOHN ROBERTSON, D.D., 1858, a native of Perth, of humble parentage, was translated from the parish of Mains and Strathmartine, near Dundee. "Both in public and private life he exemplified uniform amiability and gentleness of character, and was universally honoured for his courtesy and benevolence." A student of St Andrews, he married the eldest daughter of Professor John Cook there, and died and was buried there in 1865, aged forty-one.

(25) GEORGE STEWART BURNS, D.D., 1865, was born in 1830 in the manse of Auchtergaven, Perthshire, where his father, John Burns, was minister. Educated at Perth Grammar School and St Andrews University, he became minister successively at Chapelshade, Dundee, at Newton-on-Ayr, at Houston and Killellan, and at Montrose. He married, in 1872, Frances Reeves of Everton, Liverpool, widow of George Grant, cotton-spinner. Dr Burns took a strong interest in the public institutions and charities, and especially in the industrial schools of the city, and to Mrs Burns the cathedral is indebted for the gift of its magnificent organ.² Dr Burns died 25th January 1896, and was buried in Glasgow Necropolis.

The following is a list of the clergymen who acted in succession as assistants to Dr Burns:—

John Douglas Stewart, Minister of Crossmichael; Andrew Laidlaw, Minister of St George's-in-the-Fields, Glasgow; T. A. Cameron, M.A., Minister of Farnell; George Dods, Minister of Garvald; Malcolm McLean, B.D., Minister of Brodick; Charles Durward, B.D., Minister of Scoonie; Stewart Galloway, Minister of Logie, Dundee; Wm. Proudfoot, M.A., Minister of the Second Charge of Haddington; H. M. B. Reid, B.D., Minister of Balmaghie; Maxwell J. Wright, M.A., Minister of Dornock; Wm. Granger, M.A., Minister of St Leonard's, Ayr; Geo. F. A. MacNaughton, M.A., Assistant-Minister of Carsphairn; Robert Gillespie, B.D., Minister of Eckford, died 1896; Wm. Borland, B.D., Minister of Rosemount, Aberdeen; D. Melville Stewart, still Assistant.

¹ See Scott's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ."

² See "Monuments and Inscriptions," *infra*.

The following were in charge of the Parish Mission during the incumbency of Dr Burns :—

Duncan Macfarlane Wilson, Minister of Thornton ; George Dods, jun., B.D., Minister of Barr ; A. C. Watson, B.D., Minister of St Boswells ; John D. Glass, Minister of West Parish, Dalry ; Walter Edward Lee, M.A., Minister of Greenlaw, Paisley ; Arch. Black Scott, B.D., Minister of Kildonan, Helmsdale ; Alexander Maclellan, still in the Mission.

(26) PEARSON M'ADAM MUIR, 1896, was born in 1846 in the manse of Kirkmabreck, Kirkcudbrightshire, where his father, John Muir, was minister. Educated at Glasgow University, and licensed in 1868, he acted as assistant successively to Dr Laurie at Monkton, and to the Rev. James Cruickshank at Stevenston. In 1870 he became minister of Catrine ; in 1872 was translated to Polmont ; and in 1880 to Morningside, Edinburgh. He received the degree of D.D. from Glasgow University in 1893. In 1871 he married Sophia Anne, daughter of the Very Rev. James Chrystal, D.D., LL.D., minister of Auchinleck, the "father of the Church of Scotland."

CHURCH OF THE BARONY, OR LANDWARD PARISH.¹

(1) DONALD M'KILVORIE, 1594, was translated to Rothesay, and soon afterwards to Kilmalieu or Glenaray.

(2) ALEXANDER ROWATT, 1596, was previously minister successively at Cambusnethan, Dalziel, and Rutherglen. He was translated from the Barony to Cadder in 1611, and died in September 1644, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, leaving a widow.²

(3) JOHN BLACKBURN, 1611, was for many years master of the Grammar School, off High Street, and was Dean of Faculty in the University from 1592 to 1611. He was translated from Cardross. He died in May 1623.

(4) ZACHARY BOYD, 1623, descended, like Archbishop Boyd, from the family of Pinkhill, was born in Carrick about 1585, and educated at Kilmarnock School, and Glasgow and St Andrews Universities. When twenty-two years of age he went to study at the University of Saumur in France, under his cousin Robert Boyd of Trochrig, where he became

¹ Worshipping in the Lower Church of the Cathedral, and known therefore as the Laich Kirk. For particulars of the origin of this congregation, see *supra*, pp. 148, 149.

² See Scott's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ."

a regent in 1611, and was minister of a French Protestant Church for four years. He returned to Scotland in 1621, and in 1623 was appointed minister of the Barony. When Charles I. visited Glasgow in 1633, Boyd addressed him in a very loyal speech, and five years later he was with difficulty induced to sign the Covenant.¹ He soon became zealous in the cause, however, and published a poem on the defeat of the royal army at Newburn. Boyd was a voluminous writer and a vigorous preacher, master both with tongue and pen of a terse if rugged style, made vivid by a constant use of homely figures. When the General Assembly was selecting a version of the Psalms to be authorised, he made strong efforts to have his translation adopted, without success. And when Cromwell attended service in the Laich Kirk in 1650, Boyd fulminated so against the opinions of the "Malignants," or Cromwellian party, that an officer sitting behind the Protector offered to send a shot into the pulpit.² It is said that, when he was dictating his will, his second wife, Margaret Mure, daughter of William Mure of Glanderstom, Renfrewshire, suggested that he should bequeath a trifle to Mr Durham. To which Zachary responded, "Weel, Meg, my heart, I'll just lea' him what I canna keep frae him, and that's your ain bonnie sel'." And, true enough, Boyd was no more than eight months dead when his widow became wife of the minister of the Inner High Church.³ A hundred tales like these keep his fame alive, and by them he is perhaps the best remembered of the old ministers of the cathedral. He died in 1653, bequeathing, with £20,000 Scots, his library and MSS., numerous and quaint, to the University of which he had thrice been rector. He was buried in Blacader's Aisle. Of Boyd's own works the University Library possesses thirteen MS. volumes, closely written. His "Last Battle of the Soul in Death" was published in 1629 and 1831, and four poems from "Zion's Flowers" in 1865. His bust is now in the University Library, and his portrait in the Divinity Hall.

(5) DONALD CARGILL, 1655, eldest son of Cargill of Hatton, was deprived in 1662 on the re-establishment of Episcopacy. One of the most noted and aggressive of the conventiclers, he founded the sect of

¹ Baillie's "Letters."

² By way of return Cromwell is said to have invited the minister of the Barony to supper, and to have concluded the entertainment with a prayer of three hours' duration, which lasted till 3 A.M.

³ Gabriel Neil's introduction to "The Last Battle of the Soul," ed. 1831.

Cameronians in 1679, and at Torwood, two years later, went the length of excommunicating, on his own authority, King Charles II., the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, the Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, and General Dalzell of Binns. Five thousand merks were offered for his capture, and he was taken, after many escapes, by Irvine of Bonshaw. Tried by the High Court of Justiciary in 1681, he was found guilty of treason, and executed with four others on 27th July.

(6) DAVID LIDDEL, 1662, translated from Channel Kirk, was elected Dean of Faculty by the University in 1665, and Professor of Divinity in 1674. He died about 1682.

(7) ALEXANDER GEORGE, 1675, a native of Aberdeenshire, was translated from Cathcart. Rabbled from his charge 17th January 1689, he retired to Edinburgh, and died in 1703, aged sixty-three.

(8) ROBERT LANGLANDS, 1691, was seized while governor to the brother of Lord Cardross in 1675, and imprisoned a day and a night. Escaping to Holland, he returned with Argyle's ill-fated expedition in 1685, and after six years of conventicle preaching about Galloway, became minister of the Barony. He was translated to Elgin in 1696, and died 12th August 1697.

(9) JAMES STIRLING, 1699, son of John Stirling, minister of Kilbarchan, died 12th December 1736.

(10) JOHN HAMILTON, 1737, son of John Hamilton, minister of Blackfriars, was translated to Inner High Church in 1749. (See p. 202.)

(11) LAURENCE HILL, 1750, translated from Kilmarnock, died 1st October 1773.

(12) JOHN BURNS, 1774, only child of John Burns of Stirith, was born at Logie, near Stirling, 13th February 1744 (O.S.). Appointed assistant in 1770, he was ordained four years later. It was largely through his efforts that the heritors were induced to remove the Barony congregation from the dark and damp Lower Church of the cathedral, and build the new Barony Church close by.¹ He received the degree of D.D. from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1808, died "father of the Church of Scotland," 26th February 1839, in his ninety-sixth year and the sixty-fifth of his ministry, and was buried in the cathedral yard. His portrait, by Graham

¹ See *supra*, p. 169. That new Barony Church, long known as "the ugliest church in Glasgow," has recently been taken down, and the congregation removed to a more ambitious structure on the other side of Cathedral Square.

Gilbert, is in possession of the University. He married, 9th January 1775, Elizabeth Stevenson, and had seven sons and two daughters. Of these, John, Professor of Surgery in the University, perished in the "Orion" in 1850, and James of Kilmahew, and George of Wemyss House, Wemyss Bay, became distinguished merchants and shipowners, the latter receiving a baronetcy in 1889, and his son John being created a peer, with the title of Baron Inverclyde of Castle Wemyss, in 1897.¹

OUTER HIGH CHURCH.

(1) PATRICK GILLESPIE, 1648, son of John Gillespie, minister of the second charge in Kirkcaldy, was presented to the archbishopric by Charles I., on the death of Archbishop Lindsay in 1641, but owing to the state of public opinion apparently never got possession.² In 1647, however, a new congregation was called into existence by the magistrates, part of the nave was fitted up for its accommodation, and Gillespie was "entreated to embrace the charge." On Cromwell's visit to Glasgow after the battle of Dunbar, he invited Gillespie to supper at his lodging, Silvercraig's Land in the Saltmarket, and apparently entirely won his good offices. Accordingly on news of the coronation of Charles II. at Scone in 1651, Gillespie called a meeting in the Tolbooth, denounced Charles as a hypocrite, and urged adherence to Cromwell. On 14th April 1653, without relinquishing his congregation, he became, on Cromwell's presentation, Principal of the University. Two years later he went to London, and procured from the Protector a grant for the College, of the superiority formerly belonging to the See of Galloway. Cromwell also, on Gillespie informing him that Charles I. had subscribed £100 towards ornamenting the College front, ordered the money to be paid. In 1661, following the re-establishment of Episcopacy and the advent of Archbishop Fairfowl at Glasgow, he was imprisoned in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, indicted before Parliament on 6th March for treason, and narrowly escaped death, through the influence of Lord Sinclair, by making a humble confession. Charles II. considered him even more guilty than his associate

¹ For details of the later ministers of the Barony Parish, the reader may be referred to "Glasgow and the Barony thereof," by the present minister, the Very Rev. J. Marshall Lang, D.D., Glasgow, 1895.—ED.

² See *supra*, p. 159.

Guthrie, who was beheaded. Latterly he became dissipated, and died at Leith in February 1675, aged fifty-eight years.

(2) JOHN CARSTAIRS, colleague, 1650, translated from Cathcart, was removed to the Inner High Church five years later.

(3) ANDREW GRAY, colleague, 1653, was brought to think seriously of religion by seeing a Blue-Gown telling his beads devoutly in prayer behind a stone in a field between Edinburgh and Leith. He died 8th February 1656, aged twenty-four.

(4) ROBERT M'QUARD, colleague, 1656, was author of several treatises. On the restoration of Episcopacy and advent of Archbishop Fairfowl, he was charged with treasonable preaching, and banished from the kingdom. The magistrates, however, testified their respect by a donation of £25 sterling, and he retired to Rotterdam, where he died in December 1681, aged fifty-four.¹

(5) JAMES WODROW, 1689. By the Archbishop, on the deprivation of Gillespie and M'Quard, the "Outer High" congregation appears to have been suppressed. In 1689, however, after the Revolution, James Wodrow was translated to the charge from Merkdailly Meeting-house. He became Professor of Divinity in the University 24th February 1692, and died 25th September 1697, aged seventy-one.

(6) ALEXANDER HASTIE, 1691, was translated from Torphichen. He died 25th September 1707, in the twentieth year of his ministry, aged seventy-one, and bequeathed funds which now provide two bursaries for Theology, and one for Languages and Philosophy, each worth £15 per annum. He also left a sum for the poor.

(7) JOHN SCOTT, 1713, translated from Carluke, died in December 1741. His eldest son, Peter, became minister at Paisley.

(8) JAMES STIRLING, 1742, translated from Monkton, died 3rd May 1773, aged sixty-three, in the thirty-seventh year of his ministry.

(9) THOMAS RANDALL, 1773, translated from Inchtute, was on 7th October 1778 translated to Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh.

(10) ROBERT BALFOUR, 1779, translated from Lecropt, received the degree of D.D. from Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1802. He declined a presentation to Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh, in 1806, and died suddenly, of apoplexy, 14th October 1818, aged seventy, in the forty-fifth year of his ministry.

¹ See *supra*, p. 164.

(11) JAMES MARSHALL, 1819, after acting as assistant to Dr Balfour, was chosen his successor. He was translated to the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, 24th April 1828, and subsequently took orders in the Church of England.

(12) JOHN FORBES, 1828, was promoted from Hope Park Chapel of Ease to Edinburgh. He received the degree of D.D. from St Andrews University in 1837, and that of LL.D. from Glasgow in 1840. In 1835, as a necessary step in the restoration of the cathedral, the Town Council built St Paul's Church, and removed thither Dr Forbes and his congregation.¹ The Outer High Church accordingly ceased to exist under that name. At the Disruption, 24th May 1843, Dr Forbes left the Established Church, and became minister of Free St Paul's.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 170, 172.

THE ANCIENT CHAPTER OF THE CATHEDRAL: ITS DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES.¹

BY HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.



Capital in Blacader's Aisle.

THE past history and the former glories of the See would be incomplete without an account of the ancient Chapter of Glasgow. This will embrace a short history of those who took part in the daily mass and office in the choir, and who formed the Bishop's Council.

The erection of the Chapter dates back to the middle of the twelfth century. Bishop Herbert (1147-1164), who was the second bishop after the restoration of the diocese by St David, drew up its constitution. Up to the year 1424 the number of canons was twenty-five. After that date seven new ones were added by Bishop Cameron (1426-1446), viz., Cambuslang, Tarbolton, Eaglesham, Luss, Kirkmahoe, Killearn, and Polmadie with Strathblane.² This made the capitular body to consist of thirty-two canons. The Glasgow

¹ The substance of this article is taken from documents in the "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis."

² See *supra*, p. 91.

secular canons formed the largest and most important capitular body in the country. St Andrews and Elgin had each only twenty-four canons, and Aberdeen and Brechin had fourteen.

Of the Glasgow canons, nine were officials of the Chapter. The first dignitary was the Dean, after whom came the Archdeacon, then the Sub-Dean, the Chancellor, the Precentor, the Treasurer, the Sacristan, the Bishop's Vicar, and the Sub-Precentor. The Dean was the Rector or Prebendary of Cadzow; the Archdeacon was Rector of Peebles; the Sub-Dean was Rector of Monkland; the Chancellor was Rector of Campsie; the Precentor was Rector of Kilbride; the Treasurer was Rector of Carnwath; the Sacristan was Rector of Cambuslang; the Bishop's Vicar was Parson of Glasgow, or Glasgow 1^{mo}, and had the Parish of the Barony of Glasgow; and the Sub-Precentor was Rector of Ancrum. In addition to these nine, there were the Rectors of—(10) Cardross, (11) Balernock or Provan, (12) Carstairs, (13) Erskine, (14) Renfrew, (15) Eaglesham, (16) Govan, (17) Kirkmahoe, (18) Tarbolton, (19) Killearn, (20) Douglas, (21) Eddleston, (22) Stobo, (23) Morebattle, (24) Luss, (25) Ayr, (26) Roxburgh, (27) Durisdeer, (28) Ashkirk, (29) Sanquhar, (30) Cumnock, (31) Polmadie, and (32) Glasgow 2^{do}. These thirty-two canons are enumerated in "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 342, p. 346.

When the Chapter was first erected the Pope confirmed a constitution of the Dean and Chapter, by which, on the death of a canon, his prebend for one year, after paying his debts, should go to the poor. In the following reign, that of William I. (1165-1214), the Chapter gave to each canon the right to bequeath one year's fruits of his prebend; or, if he died without a will, the year's fruits might be applied, first to the payment of

his debts, and the residue among his relatives and the poor; but his books and his church vestments were to go to the Cathedral. During this same reign the Cathedral possessed twenty-five churches, seventeen of which seem to have been mensal.

The canons had to provide vicars for the parochial work of their rectories. They were called "*Vicarii pensionarii*." The bishop, and sometimes also the Chapter, had to approve of the selection. For example, in 1555, Alexander Dick, senior archdeacon of the church of Glasgow, and rector of the parish church of Menar, with the consent of the Archbishop and the Chapter, appointed Dom. William Turner, vicar of the church of Menar, with a salary of 24 merks, together with some small offerings and a toft and a croft.

The duties and offices of the canons may be seen from a statute of Bishop John Cheyam, of date 1266. In this, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, it was arranged that each canon should provide a suitable vicar for the church of his prebend, who was to be paid his stipend every three months, and that the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Sub-Dean should reside at the Cathedral at least six months in the year, and the other canons at least three months. To this was added that all the canons, *tam majores quam minores*, should attend the Chapter every year on the Vigil of Whitsunday, and remain for three or four days, to attend to any Chapter business, and to receive their share of the annual distribution. All documents requiring the seal of the Chapter were only to be sealed at Whitsunday. This seal was to be always kept under the seal of the dean and two canons, and to be locked up by three locks, the keys of which were to be kept by different canons. To this

interesting document fourteen seals were affixed. These were the seal of the Bishop, of the Chapter, and of twelve canons, *i.e.*, of Walter, the Dean; Simon, the Precentor; Reginald, Archdeacon; Nicolas, Archdeacon of Tweeddale; Robert, the Treasurer; Richard, the Chancellor; Robert of Lanark, Sub-Dean; Dom. William of Cadzow; Mag. Robert of Edinburgh; William, Rector of Stobo; Adam, Rector of Roxburgh; and Mag. William, Archdeacon of St Andrews.

The Constitution of the Chapter was modelled according to the liberties and customs of Salisbury. This was done by Bishop William Bondington in the last year of his life, and with the consent of the Chapter. The Ritual of Sarum, compiled by Bishop Osmund in 1076, had been very generally adopted in many parts of England, Wales, and Ireland.¹ To ascertain the constitutions and liberties correctly, the Glasgow Chapter obtained from the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury in 1259 a formal statement of their constitution, and this formed ever after the charter of privileges of the Chapter. The office of dean gave him precedence over all the canons. All matters referring to the canons he was to hear, and settle according to the judgment of the Chapter; all clerical faults he was to correct and punish. The canons received from the bishop their institution, but from the dean the possession of their prebends, etc., etc.²

The meetings of the canons took place every Saturday for Chapter business. "We ordain," ruled Bishop John in 1426, "that according to an ancient and praiseworthy custom,

¹ *Osmund episcopus Sarum composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem consuetudinarium vocant, quo fere tota nunc Anglia, Wallia, et Hybernia utitur.*—Jorval, Knyghton, Cosmo Innes.—ED.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," Nos. 207, 208, 211, 212*.

each canon who is in the city shall, at the sound of the bell which is rung for the Chapter, present himself at the said



The Chapter-house, from the North-west.

Chapter without any other summons, for the purpose of attending the business matters of the Chapter."

The above statutes were renewed by Bishop John Cameron

about the year 1432. After repeating very much of the statutes of 1266,¹ he added a provision that on all solemn feasts when the bishop was celebrant, there was to be the Exposition of the Relics, and a procession with them. Also that, when the bishop celebrated, all the canons in residence were to be present in their habits in choir, at the first vespers, matins, mass, and second vespers: and this was also to be done when any canon was celebrant.

An instrument of 1506 narrates that it was decided, in the General Chapter held at Whitsuntide, that the canons of the church of Glasgow, in all times coming, should walk in procession and sit in their stalls in the order in which they had been accustomed in times past and by immemorial custom.

Bishop Andrew Muirhead, in 1459, arranged for the office of Sacristan as follows:—that the chaplain who was appointed to celebrate for the soul of his predecessor, Bishop Turnbull, should be the sacristan (*custos ecclesie*), so that the chaplaincy, then held by Dom. David Brunton, when vacant should always be annexed to the office of sacristan, to which office, for his better support, he added the income then held by the official called “inner sacristan” (*interior sacrista*), and 10 merks from the prebend of Cumnock, one merk, together with a house, from the bishop, and half a merk from Patrick Leech, the chancellor. This officer (*custos*) was to reside always in Glasgow, and every night was to remain in the church, and to stay there till mid-day attending to his duties. All the church ornaments that were kept at the entrance to the choir, and on both sides of the choir,

¹ *Statuta de instituendis Vicariis de residentia*. “Reg. Epus. Glasg.,” No. 212*.

he was to take charge of and to repair, *i.e.*, the copes, chasubles, tunics, dalmatics, albs, stoles, maniples, and altar cloths belonging to the High Altar, the altars of Holy Cross, of St Catherine, of St Martin, and of the Blessed Virgin, in the lower church.

The canons had the selection of persons to be recommended to the Pope when a vacancy in the See occurred. The vicars of the choir had no voice in the election of the bishop, or any of the church dignitaries. The dean was elected by the canons, as arranged by a document of Bishop Bondington, dated 1258, though it is probable that this was only the renewal of a previous right.

The provision made for the canons was of this nature: first, each had his rectory or prebend; secondly, there were some donations, obits, etc., etc.; and there were what were called "common churches," *i.e.*, churches the fruits of which went to the common fund of the canons. Instances in point were the church of Holtun, ceded by the bishop, in 1258, for the use of the canons; the church of Liberton, made a common church in 1429; the church of Lillisliffe, in 1479; Govan, Cadzow, Glassford, Glencairn, and Carmyle. The provision made for the sub-precentor was the "prebend and canonry, the fruits, profits, and emoluments of the church of Durisdeer," which was attached to that office.

Each canon had, moreover, a residence in the city. Bishop Cameron caused the thirty-two prebendaries to build manses near the Cathedral. Each canon was to have a house in the city, which house was not annexed to his prebend, but at the death of a canon the house that he occupied was to be assigned to a canon selected by the Bishop and Chapter. This was about the year 1440, and they would be about the first houses of any importance in the city, inasmuch as stone houses were only then coming

into vogue. Some of these houses remained till a recent period. The majority of them were situated in the Rotten Row, a street



The Chapter-house, from the North-east.

running east and west from Kirk Street. Each had its garden or orchard attached. One manse deserves a word of notice, *i.e.*, the manse of the prebend of Cambuslang, on the south side

of the Drygate, because in 1665 it was acquired by the Earl of Glencairn, who sold it to the magistrates for a house of correction.

As the number and importance of the canons increased, we find on two occasions a project entertained for removing the bishop's palace, to make room for houses for the canons. The first was in 1258, when, at a meeting of the Chapter, whilst the See was vacant, owing to the death of Bishop Bondington, the canons agreed that if any of them should be elected bishop, he would remove the palace, and give its site for houses of the canons. The second occasion was exactly ten years afterwards, when on a vacancy occurring, by the death of Bishop Cheyam, the Chapter came to the same resolution. The castle or palace was, however, spared till a later day.

Bishop Bondington also founded and endowed a body of Cathedral vicars, *vicarii de residentia*. They were established for the purpose of celebrating the Cathedral services, and they are often spoken of as *stallarii*, from having stalls below and in front of the canons. The document regarding their institution was issued in 1266, and is printed in the "Reg. Epus.," No. 212. In a document, of date 1415, in which Bishop Lauder confirms a foundation made by his father Robert Lauder, for an obit and anniversary for himself and his wife Anabella, giving an annual return of forty solidi, it was arranged that the canons present at the function should receive two-thirds of the sum, to be divided equally among them, and the vicars present should receive one-third, to be divided in the same way. And in the year 1480, the Dean and Chapter arranged to augment the stipends of the vicars residential. "Each of us, they said, consents to increase the

stipends or pensions of the vicars serving in our stalls, as follows: where they received before five pounds from the prebendary in whose stall they serve, they shall in future receive ten pounds."

Still another body, possessing a regular constitution, which must not be confused with these *stallarîi* or vicars residential, were the *vicars of the choir*. A house or college was built for them on the north side of the Cathedral, which was called the "Place of the Vicars." The site is known from an instrument, dated 1508, in which a tenement is spoken of as "lying on the north side of the church of Glasgow, between the great garden of the archbishop on the west and the place of the vicars on the east." The road which passes the west of the Cathedral, and the east of the Infirmary, is still called *Vicars' Alley*.

Quite distinct again from the *vicars residential* and the *vicars of the choir* were the *vicars parochial*, who were the great body of the working clergy, and were the assistants of the rectors and canons. The pension of these vicars in some of the churches was fixed at twenty merks.¹

The forms observed on the induction of the bishops and of the canons require a short notice. When Archbishop James Beaton was promoted in 1509, we find that on 18th April he presented to Mr Rowland Blacader, who presided, and the Chapter, apostolic letters of Pope Julius II., directing them to receive him as archbishop. The President and Chapter, as obedient sons, received the said James as their archbishop in the See of Glasgow, and the father and shepherd of their souls. The

¹ For further particulars of these three classes of vicars, see "The Hall of the Vicars Choral," *infra*.

rector of the university, Mr Martin Rede, on behalf of the university and clergy of Glasgow, also signified on the same day their acceptance of the archbishop. Also apostolic letters were presented by Mr Adam Colquhoun, canon of Glasgow, to Archibald

Watson and Thomas Hucheson, bailies, representing the citizens and people of Glasgow, who received in the name of the citizens the archbishop as father and shepherd of their souls. And on the 17th April the newly consecrated archbishop took the archiepiscopal oath in presence of Robert Forman, Dean, and the Chapter of Glasgow, by sound of bell chapterly assembled in the Chapter-house, by touching his breast, and swearing on the word of an archbishop, and on the Holy Gospels.

The way in which canons were inducted is described in an instrument, in 1505, in which William Silver, newly made sub-precentor (*succentor*), made the usual canonical obedience to Mr Robert Forman, Dean, and to the canons met



Seat of Dean in east wall of Chapter-house.

in chapter by the sound of the bell, by placing and pressing his joined hands between the hands of the dean, receiving and holding them in sign of such obedience; and also in token of such obedience he took the usual Chapter oath taken by the canons. Another instrument narrates that "Mr Robert Boswell and Robert Maxwell, prebendaries of Luss and of Tarbolton,

newly created canons of Glasgow, made canonical obedience to Robert Forman, the Dean, and the Chapter, joining their hands and falling on their knees, and took the oath of the canons on the Holy Gospels, in the form of the Chapter, placing the right hand on the breast after the manner of priests. Done in the General Chapter-house at Glasgow, Saturday, 29th May 1512." Nine canons were present on the occasion.

There were twenty-nine festivals in the year on which canons only were to sing the mass at the High Altar of St Kentigern, if the bishop did not officiate. They were to take it in turns, beginning with the chief official, and then in the order of their dignity, and of the antiquity of the prebends. These feasts are named in order, to show what feasts were kept with most devotion in the old Cathedral. They were Whitsunday, Monday and Tuesday, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, Feast of St John Baptist, Ss. Peter and Paul, the Visitation, Dedication of the Church, St James, Apostle, Holy Name, Assumption, St Michael, All Saints, St Andrew, Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary, Christmas Day, St Stephen, St John Evangelist, Circumcision, Epiphany, St Kentigern, Purification, Annunciation, Easter Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, Ss. Philip and James, and the Ascension.

The high character of the Chapter, and the esteem in which it was held, can be seen from the words of King James IV., in a document in which he renews and extends the privileges and exemptions and civil jurisdiction of the bishop, and expresses his sense of the high character of the Chapter, which drew to the Archbishop's Court of Glasgow a large share of civil business. His words are, "for the special favour and affection which we

have for Robert, Bishop of the said Church, and his illustrious Chapter, which holds the first place among the secular colleges of our kingdom." On 17th February 1501, the usual visitation of the Chapter was made. The results are on record,¹ and show that, with a few exceptions of little moment, everything was in a satisfactory and edifying condition.

The canons and the diocese showed their liberality and generosity by their contributions to the Peter's Pence. The acknowledgment given in 1342 by Bishop William Rae, shows that Dom. William Corry, canon of Glasgow, handed to the bishop, after receiving it from Mag. John of Cadzow and Mag. William Droune, auditors deputed for the purpose, the sum of £247 and 16d. sterling as the contribution for Peter's Pence. It had been collected through the deans of five deaneries, *i.e.*, by the Dean of Lennox, £35, 8s.; by the Dean of Carrick, £28, 16s., by the Dean of Cunningham, £65, 17s. 4d.; and from the same deanery, by the Abbot of Paisley, £10; by the Dean of Kyle, £16, 18s. 8d.; and from the same deanery, by the Abbot of Paisley, £13, 5s. 4d.; and from the Dean of Rutherglen, £48, 3s.; and from the same deanery, by the Abbot of Paisley, £28, 3s.

James IV. became a canon of Glasgow at an early period of his life, and loved to show favour to the Cathedral. In the first year of his reign it was "concluded and ordained by our Sovereign Lord and his three estates, that for the honour and public good of the realm, the See of Glasgow be erected an Archbishopric, with such privileges as accord with law, and the

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," p. 542.

same as the Archbishopric of York has, in all dignities, immunities, and privileges.”¹ To this change the Chapter at first was opposed, through fear of their privileges being curtailed; but the king pressed the measure, and he, as well as the bishop, guaranteed the privileges of the canons to their fullest extent. The Bull, declaring the See of Glasgow metropolitan, was dated 9th January 1491. In the Bull, Innocent VIII. states that “*Prefatam Glasguensem ecclesiam inter alias dicti regni Cathedrales ecclesias insignem et notabilem ac civitatis pulchritudine et celebritate, et dioceseos amplitudine, necnon Cleri et populi earundem civitatis et dioceseos numerositate agri quoque fertilitate decoram, in metropolitanam cum archiepiscopali dignitate, jurisdictione et superioritate, crucis delatione ac aliis metropolitans insignibus, de eorundem fratrum (Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalium) dicta auctoritate erigimus et creamus. Et illi Dunkeldensis, et Dumblanensis, ac Candide Case, et Lismorensis ecclesiarum prelatos pro suis suffraganeis Episcopis concedimus et assignamus.*”

A prerogative of the See of Glasgow was that she was the special daughter of the Roman Church without any intermediary (“*Glasguensem ecclesiam specialem nullo mediante Romanæ ecclesiæ filiam sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti privelegio communimus*”). The title of the church of Glasgow as “the special daughter of the Roman Church,” was conferred in a rescript from Pope Alexander III. to Bishop Jocelin, dated 19th April 1178. This document was subscribed by the Pope and eighteen cardinals, and was “given

¹ “Act. Parl.,” ii. p. 213. See *supra*, pp. 105, 106.

at the Lateran, through the hands of Albert, cardinal priest of the Holy Roman Church, and chancellor."

Just before this date, *i.e.*, in 1164, Roger, Archbishop of York, renewed the claim of supremacy over the Scottish Sees. Appeal was made to Rome, and, probably to avoid the immediate decision of a burning question, the Pope himself, that same year, consecrated Bishop Ingleram to the See of Glasgow. The resistance to the English claims was emphasised by Jocelin. In reply to Archbishop Roger, who asserted that the Sees of Glasgow and of Galloway had acknowledged the jurisdiction of his predecessors, Jocelin maintained that his See was "the special daughter of the Roman Church," and exempt from all other jurisdiction. The same title and prerogative was used by the Pope fifty-three years later, where Pope Gregory IX., in a rescript to the bishop on 2nd April 1231, begins by saying, "*Cum ecclesia Glasguensis ad sedem apostolicam nullo pertineat mediante, speciali nos decet eam in suo jure fovere.*" And to the king the Pope wrote the following day, urging him to protect the liberties of the Church, using these words, "*Glasguensem ecclesiam quam apostolicæ sedis filiam specialem affectu diligimus speciali, serenitati regiæ duximus propensius commendandam.*"

The last public act of the Chapter was their petitioning the Holy See to appoint to a vacancy in the See of Glasgow. The document was drawn up on 27th February 1549, and gives us the names of several of the canons. The petition was for the appointment of James Beaton, and the petitioners were, Gavin Hamilton, Dean; James Balfour, Treasurer; John Colquhoun, John Steward, Walter Betoun, James Coltis, Thomas Hay, David Gibson, Robert Crecchtoun, David Crysteson, Archibald Crawford,

William Ker, James Colquhoun, John Spreule, and Archibald Dunbar. Pope Julius III. appointed him on 4th September 1551, and he was consecrated at Rome on 28th August 1552. He was the last survivor of the prelates of the old Scottish Church, and died in Paris in the year 1603, at the age of 86.



Base of Column in Sacristy.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

By JOHN HONEYMAN, R.S.A.



IN our description of the architecture of the cathedral, our aim must be to show the characteristic features of the building in so much detail, and with so much fidelity, as to satisfy the student of architecture and make the subject intelligible to the expert, while at the same time we avoid such redundancy of either illustration or technicalities as would make our description tedious or obscure to the general reader. Fortunately, in recent years the number of educated men who take an intelligent interest in architecture, and especially in what we may call archæological architecture, has greatly increased, and the probability, therefore, is that if we succeed in steering the middle course above indicated, this section of the history of the cathedral will be not less interesting than others to the cultured reader.

We shall confine our attention almost exclusively to matters of fact—that is, to a description of what actually exists, and

which those who have the opportunity can examine and verify for themselves, avoiding as far as possible doubtful disputations and immaterial speculations. In the absence of authentic records, however, probabilities must be weighed and their due authority admitted where the convergence of circumstantial evidence seems to justify this course. For example, so many circumstances seem to warrant the assumption that the cathedral was erected over the tomb of the patron saint, that we are disposed to accept it as a fact. The site was an excellent one for a group of Celtic¹ cells with their usual circumvallation, though quite unsuitable for a cathedral. Raised on the sloping ground above the "haugh" in which the Molendinar flowed, it was a retired and sunny spot, and yet within easy reach of what was probably, at a very early time, a populous district, and positions of strength on the hills now covered by the Necropolis and the Rottenrow. The church which was established here was dedicated to St Kentigern, which carries us a long way back in the history of the See, as it indicates that the dedication took place during the ascendancy of the Celtic church; and thereafter history and tradition associate the saint's name with the spot through the many vicissitudes of successive centuries. The Celtic churches were not prelatic. They had no need of cathedrals, and built none. We know of no cathedral erected in Scotland before the twelfth century, and the church erected by Achaius at Glasgow was one of the earliest of these. So far as we know, not a vestige of the primitive church of Glasgow now remains. It was not till near the middle of the twelfth century that any serious attempt was

¹ We use the term *Celtic* as inclusive of the early churches in Scotland which maintained their individuality with more or less continuity till near the close of the twelfth century.

made to rear a cathedral on the site. The task was undertaken by John Achaius, whose episcopate extended from 1115 to 1147. The small piece of Transitional work in the south-west corner of the Lower Church may possibly be part of the church erected by



Shafting in South-west corner of Lower Church.

this bishop. But we think the character of the details points to a later period, and that it is more likely that this, and some detached portions of Transitional work which have been found, formed part of the church restored or rebuilt by Jocelin.

The external base might have been erected about 1120, but the shaft itself, with its delicate mouldings, seems considerably later. It is interesting in this connection to compare the work done at different periods at Dryburgh,

Kelso, and Jedburgh—especially the latter. The important point connected with this fragment is that it gives us a clue to the plan of the church which occupied the ground when the choir was designed. The old buttress has been a corner buttress of

much greater breadth than it is now, and it is evident the wall to which the old shaft is attached formed the east end of the south aisle of the Transitional church, thus giving us a clue to the plan of that building which is interesting to follow up, as the work done during the twelfth century had an important influence on all that followed.

The strongest argument in support of the view that this old fragment marks the south-east corner of the church erected by Achaius, is that it is precisely where we should expect to find it in relation to the tomb of the patron saint. If we suppose, as the writer suggested many years ago, that the old choir terminated in a semicircular apse, projecting eastward beyond the aisles, we will find that the tomb would be enclosed in such a position as to admit of the high altar being placed immediately over it. And if we assume that the end of the choir was not apsidal but square, we get the same result. Upon the whole, the probability is that the end of the church erected or altered by Jocelin was square, and that it projected two bays beyond the aisles, as at St Andrews and in many other buildings of that period.

Although crypts were much in vogue during the twelfth century, there were two special circumstances which must have suggested the erection of one under our first cathedral—one, the peculiarity of the site, which slopes so rapidly towards the east that St Mungo's tomb would necessarily be at a considerable depth below the level on which it was possible to build a large church; and the other, that Achaius, from his long residence in Italy, and his familiarity with the custom there, would naturally be led to imitate some of the notable Italian examples.

The remains of Jedburgh Abbey are of the greatest interest

in this connection. In the ruins of the choir there, we find what was probably an exact counterpart of the church erected at Glasgow by Bishop Achaius, and very likely designed by the same architect. Jedburgh was within the diocese of Glasgow, and the choir and transept of the abbey church (if nothing more) were erected during the episcopate of Achaius. The transept projects but slightly beyond the aisles, and the side aisles of the choir extend only two bays to the eastward of the crossing. The choir extended beyond the aisles, and there is some indication that the termination was apsidal. The length of the aisles was 25 feet, the distance from centre to centre of pillars 12 feet, the aisle from pillar to wall 12 feet, and the width of choir between the pillars 22 feet 4 inches. Now, naturally the cathedral was set off on rather a larger scale than the priory: the width of the Glasgow choir between the pillars is about 26 feet, the width of the aisle 13 feet, and the length from the old gable to the transept about 24 feet. The dimensions are, roughly, a tenth greater, and if we take the Jedburgh plan and increase all the dimensions by a tenth, we shall find that, placing the south-east corner where the fragment of the original corner still stands, the present axis of the cathedral would be maintained, and the apse would embrace the tomb of St Kentigern.

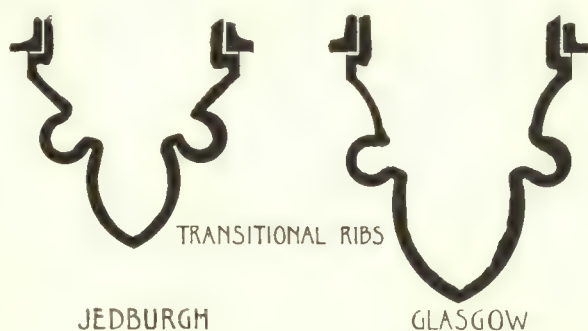
While the choir of Jedburgh Abbey — which is purely Norman — was erected during the episcopate of Achaius, the nave—which is Transitional—was erected during the episcopacy of Jocelin; and here again there is every probability that the same architect who designed the Transitional choir at Glasgow also designed the magnificent nave of Jedburgh, and it is exceedingly likely that he also designed a nave for Glasgow,

which, unfortunately, was never built, and determined the position of the buttresses and the position of the pillars. It is rather curious to find that, although the Glasgow church was larger, the same proportions were adopted both in the nave and the original choir as at Jedburgh. The distance between the pillars in the Glasgow nave, measuring from centre to centre, is 15 feet 6 inches, and in the Jedburgh nave 14 feet 1 inch—about a tenth less. The width between the pillars in Glasgow is 25 feet 3 inches, and at Jedburgh 22 feet. The details of the two buildings, so far as we have the means of judging, such as the form of the shaft which remains, and others of

which we have detached fragments, the vaulting, ribs, etc., bear a strong resemblance. We may fairly assume that there was such a servant of the church as a diocesan architect in the olden time,

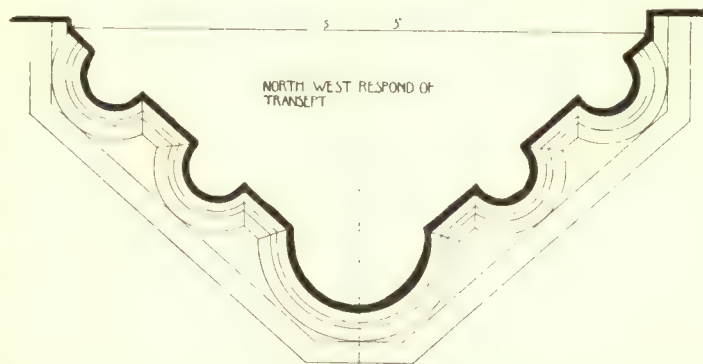
and there is plenty of evidence to show that his practice was vastly larger, and his opportunities of doing great and original work more numerous, than those of the diocesan architect of the present day.

There seems good reason to assume that Jocelin adhered to the original plan of the choir, with the crypt under the high altar, although the details of the restored church would differ considerably from the church erected about half a century earlier. Both have now been swept away, except what still marks the south-east corner and indicates the width of the church. It will be observed the designer of the thirteenth-century choir has adhered to the original axis, and has made his magnificent new



church exactly the same width as the old one. But the old building determined the arrangement of the new one in a still more important respect. It is evident that so much had been done west from the old gable we have been referring to, prior to 1230, that it was not thought advisable to interfere with it. Jocelin appears to have rebuilt the choir, and also to have designed, if he did not also partly build, the nave. It does not necessarily follow that he altered the plan of the original choir, or that he interfered at all with the crypt, which was not likely to suffer much from a fire in the church above it. The existence of this crypt would be a strong inducement to avoid the expense of a new foundation for that part of his church at all events, and so the probability is that when William de Bondington, in 1233, resolved to build a new choir, he found the site occupied by the crypt erected over the tomb of St Kentigern by Achaius about 1130, or by some modification of that crypt, and the choir restored by Bishop Jocelin about 1190; while to the westward stretched a considerable portion of the transept and nave projected by Jocelin, and carried on fitfully by his successors. What course to follow was rather a difficult question, and no doubt greatly exercised the minds of the "fathers and brethren" of the day. There is nothing to indicate how far the original choir extended westwards, but we find evidence that the position of the central tower was fixed before the episcopate of Bondington, and that a considerable portion of the transept walls, and of the aisle walls of the nave, was erected before his time. We cannot suppose that the successors of Jocelin, during a period of fully forty years, had done nothing towards the completion of the edifice; but it is evident, from the character of the base

and the spacing of the piers, that they were working on a twelfth century plan. Existing details show that before the present choir was commenced, the following portions of the nave were built, namely—the north aisle wall, part of the south aisle wall, the lower part of the west gable, and a considerable portion of both transept gables. The south transept door is distinctly earlier than Bondington's time, and so is the lower part—the pillars and wall-shafts—of the transept porches, which have evidently been designed by the same hand. The responds on the east side of the transept appear to have been rebuilt in the style of the new choir, but those on the west side, and also those at west gable, are of an older type, an assumption which



is confirmed by the section of their bases. This being the condition of the building, it is not surprising that Bondington hesitated about razing the whole building to the ground and beginning a new cathedral, with the tomb of St Kentigern still below the high altar at its east end. He was, we may say, forced to face the difficult problem how to extend the building eastward down the slope, without altering the level of the choir floor. This, as we shall see, he accomplished in an admirable manner—utilising the space beneath the choir as a lower church, well lighted, and having direct access from the exterior as well as from the church above.

These remarks may serve to explain many peculiarities which

we find in the building as it stands, and they also show how largely the work of the first bishop of the revived See determined the character of everything that was subsequently done.

Glasgow Cathedral, shorn of its old western adjuncts, has an exceedingly tame and diminutive effect, but the interior of the building is probably more grand and impressive than any other of the same size. The general dimensions of the building are—length inside, 283 feet; width, 61 feet 9 inches; height from floor of lower church to ridge, 105 feet; height of spire, 250 feet. It will be observed that the plan shows features of exceptional interest. The most important of these is that the eastern division of the church requires two plans. It is practically a two-storied building, and in this respect differs from any other church in Britain. Many others have crypts. Crypts were exceedingly common under our larger churches from the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth, but comparatively rare after that period; and what has usually been called the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral is, strictly speaking, not a crypt, but an under church — “ecclesia inferior,” as it is invariably termed in documents referring to it¹—the floor of which is at all points raised, at some points considerably raised, above the surface of the ground. The building extending southward from the transept may also be similarly described, though it may be doubted if the original intention was to put a second apartment over this. It seems, upon the whole, more probable

¹ In his paper on “The Ancient Altars,” *infra*, Archbishop Eyre points out that the Lower Church of Glasgow Cathedral was mistakenly called a crypt; and in another article, printed in the *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 154, he quotes three other examples of churches so built, one above another,—the churches of St Francis at Assisi, of St Gregory at Spoleto, and of Rheindorf on the east bank of the Rhine.

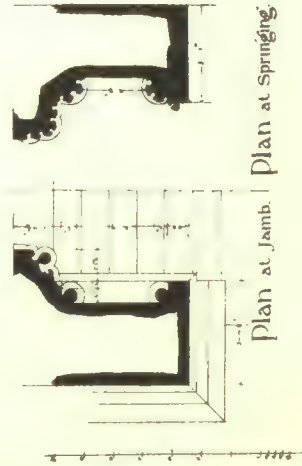
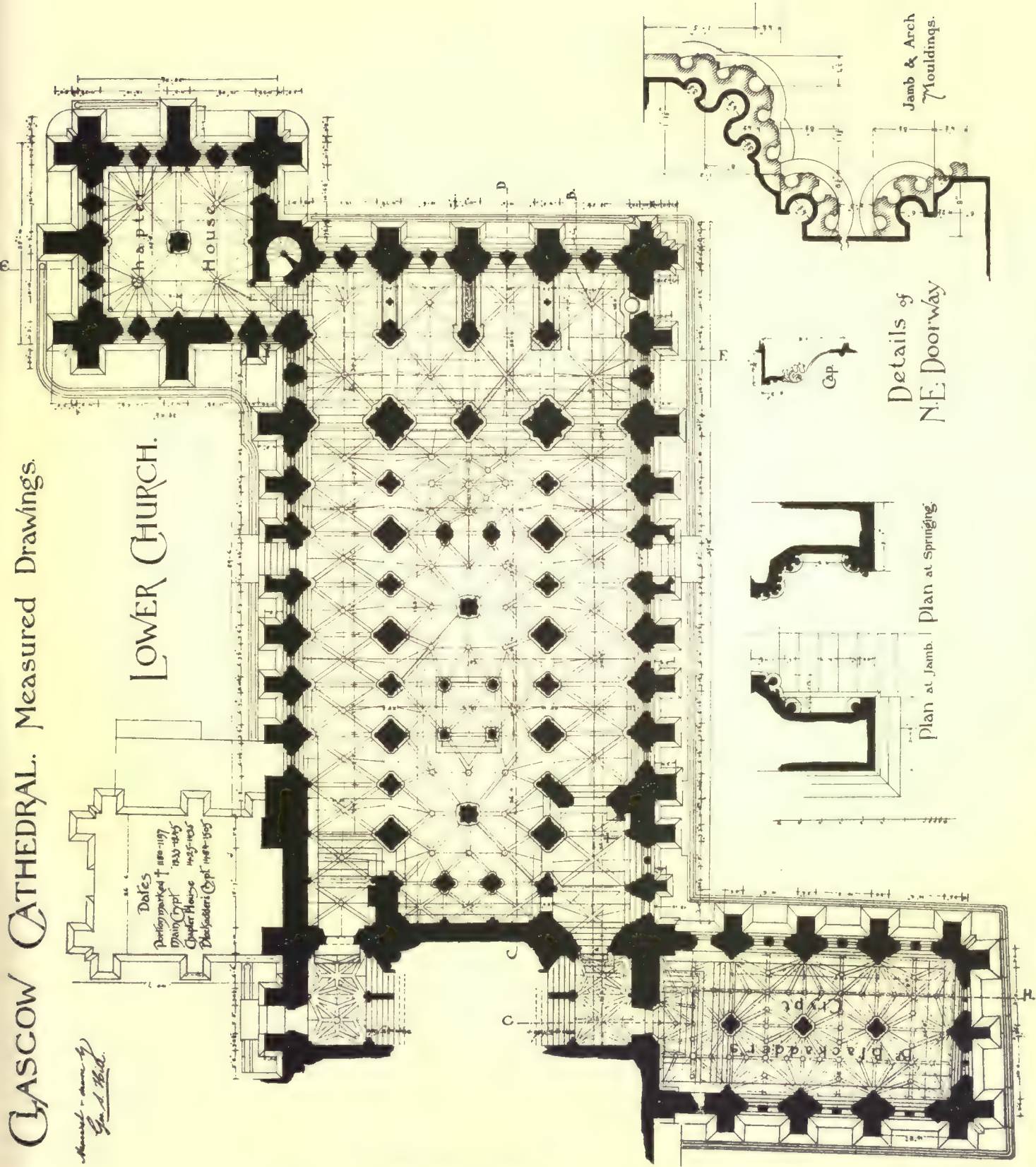
GLASGOW CATHEDRAL. Measured Drawings.

*Drawn & annotated by
Geo. D. Hill.*

LOWER CHURCH.

Dates
Partly worked 1180-1197
Main Crypt 1233-1245
Crypt House 1255-1265
Blackadder's Crypt 1265-1295

Scale to General Plan



Details of
NE Doorway

Jamb & Arch
Mouldings.

that the original intention was to erect here a building of one story only, although it is evident that Archbishop Blacader, coming later and building on another man's foundation, intended completing the building in a totally different manner. It will be observed that the transept is unusually short, extending only to the aisles at each side. There is, in fact, nothing in the transept but the stairs to the lower church. This peculiarity has been attributed to French influence, but it is more likely due to the influence of common sense. Unless the transept had been carried one or two bays beyond the aisles, it would have been of no use for the accommodation of altars; and to extend it thus, in the usual way, with aisles along the east side, would, owing to the nature of the site, have been a very serious undertaking, necessitating a large extension of the lower church, which was not wanted. The designers of the cathedral prudently gave up that idea, and did only what was absolutely necessary if they were to turn those graceful arches at the crossing which support the central tower. At the same time the transept, though adding nothing to the accommodation of the church, is of great value as an architectural feature, both externally and internally.

The approaches to the lower church are, no doubt, substantially as originally designed, with the exception of the steps going north and south from the choir level into the nave. These might with advantage be removed.

A feature of great interest in the plan is the arrangement of the east end. We have here, what is very rarely to be found, the east end of a cathedral as designed by the thirteenth century architect, without any addition or alteration. The choir is a complete design by one man. The plan of the

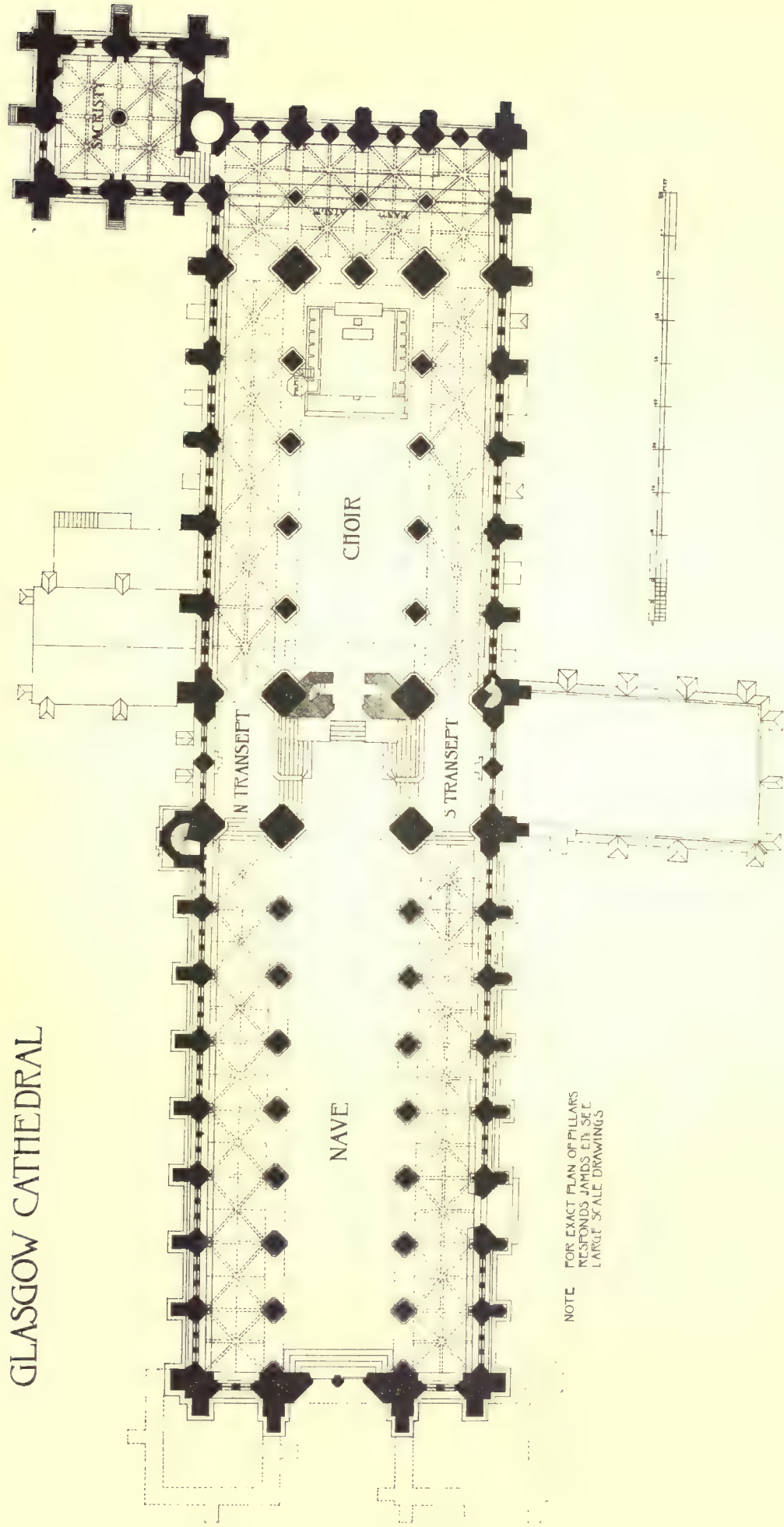
east end is unusual, and it is admirable, both from a scientific and an artistic point of view. Two aisles are carried across the east end, and the main arcade is also continued across the end on two massive corner piers and one smaller pier, under the centre of the gable—an unusual feature, which has led to another, namely, the introduction of *four* lancets in the gable, instead of the usual odd number. Each bay of the east aisle, both in the upper and lower church, was used as a chapel,¹ leaving the other aisle clear as a connecting passage between the north and south aisles of the choir. In the lower church the chapels are divided by solid masonry, so that, strictly speaking, there is only one cross aisle with side chapels. These division walls, for resisting the thrust of the vaulting of the lower church, are practically buttresses of great power.

The want of some equivalent in the upper church has led to a serious dislocation of the building at the south-east corner. It is evident that the abutment there provided was insufficient, and, in consequence, the south wall has been, we may almost say, dangerously rent, and the east wall thrown considerably off the perpendicular. The fracture can be traced across the aisle, and right up to the clerestory of the choir. Fortunately the north-east corner has the support of the adjoining sacristy. Apparently this failure occurred at a very early date, and it is not unlikely that the cause of it was some indiscreet interference with the centering of the arches.

The east end of Durham Cathedral has sometimes been referred to as exhibiting a similar arrangement to that of

¹ See Archbishop Eyre's article on the "Ancient Altars," in the present volume.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL



NOTE
FOR EXACT PLAN OF PILLARS
RESPOND JAMBS ETC SEE
LARGE SCALE DRAWINGS

Glasgow, but this is a mistake. It resembles Glasgow in one respect only, and that is the placing of several altars in juxtaposition along the east wall. In all other respects it is different. In the first place, the chapel of the five altars is not an integral part of the choir. The original termination of the choir has been removed, and this chapel has been added, causing as much alteration as we find in most other cases required for the addition of a Lady Chapel. Then, secondly, the chapel at Durham is strictly, as its name implies, a separate chamber spanned by one lofty vault. It bears no resemblance whatever to two parallel aisles.

There is a much more obvious analogy between the east end of Glasgow Cathedral and the corresponding portions of our large Norman choirs, such as Gloucester and Norwich, where the side aisles have been carried round the apsidal ends, with chapels beyond. The Glasgow plan is simply an adaptation of this arrangement to a square end; and in the lower church, where the chapels are separated by stone walls, the arrangement may be regarded as practically identical. There is no other example of the kind in any of our cathedrals. In Scotland we have no Norman choirs with apsidal ends, nor any remains which would lead us to suppose that such choirs at any time existed. At Jedburgh, an important example, where much of the Norman work remains, the choir may have had an apsidal termination, but the aisles certainly stopped short, and the same may be said of Glasgow. The truth is that, as already mentioned, we built no cathedrals in Scotland till the first quarter of the twelfth century, when the Norman style of architecture was on the verge of merging in the Transitional, after which apsidal terminations became uncommon, even in England.

Adjoining this part of the church we have another peculiar arrangement, namely, the position of the chapter-house, at the north-east corner of the choir, the only access to which is from the lower church. The sacristy is placed over the chapter-house, with a door into the choir, and a turret staircase provides means of communication between the two apartments, and between the upper and lower churches at that point.

There seems to have been some bungling in setting off the south, or Blacader's Crypt, and an irregularity will be observed at both corners of the building, which is not easily accounted for. The south wall is nearly twice as thick at the west side as it is at the east. The most probable explanation is that the fifteenth-century builder, finding that the axis of the original building, commenced in the thirteenth century, was not at right angles to the transept, took this method of making the face of the gable at least, approximately parallel with the gable of the transept.

Two buildings projecting beyond the western gable are shown on the plan. These no longer exist, and all that is known about them will be found recorded in a subsequent chapter.¹

The low building projecting northwards from the choir (shown in outline on the plan) is supposed to be the remains of the hall of the vicars choral, referred to in a subsequent chapter. In its present condition it has no architectural features of interest. Almost the whole of the exterior, and the present stone roof, is modern, and the south end of the vault is occupied by the heating apparatus. The building was at one time two stories high, and a few years ago the remains of a staircase in the thickness of the

¹ See "The Western Towers," by Archbishop Eyre, *infra*.



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

wall were exposed to view by workmen engaged in repairing the roof. This building, like the chapter-house and Blacader's Aisle, appears to have formed part of Bishop Bondington's grand design, but, like these other adjuncts, it must have remained unfinished for many generations. It is chiefly interesting now as an evidence that at the time it was commenced in the thirteenth century *an older building existed*, the wall of which, with its Transitional base, still remains as on the south side, where we find the Transitional base passing through the building now known as Blacader's Aisle. It is thus clearly proved that at the time the present choir was built, the lower walls, at least, of an older building existed, and extended westwards from a point about 30 feet east of the transept.¹

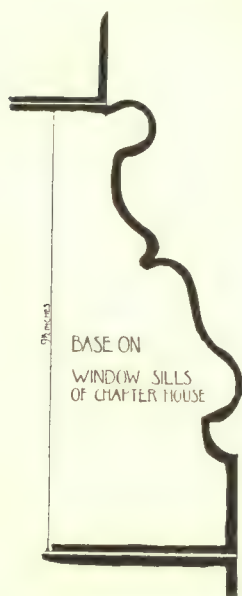
The plan of the cathedral, it will be observed, is remarkably compact, and the exterior is symmetrical and harmonious. The best points of view are from the north-east and the south-east. From either of these points the full height of the structure is seen, and that is sufficiently great to give the building a dignified and impressive effect, the height from the ground level to the apex of the choir gable being 115 feet. The well-proportioned short transept breaks the monotony of the long clerestory, without unduly hiding it, as transepts with more projection do.² The gable of the choir, with its four lancets, rises picturesquely over the double eastern aisles, while the sombre keep-like mass of the chapter-house adds a romantic element to the effect of the whole composition, which culminates gracefully in the lofty spire. The pervading characteristic is simplicity, and the effect solemnising.

¹ See *ante*, p. 229.

² See Frontispiece.

Sir Walter Scott, with his usual quick perception of *character* in buildings, as well as in man, puts an admirable reference to these salient points into the mouth of Andrew Fairservice, who exclaims "Ah! it's a brave kirk, nane o' yer whigmaleries an' curliwurlies an' open-steek hems about it." It may, indeed, be called severe, but not tame.

Looking at the exterior from any point of view, it is extremely difficult to realise the fact that this building, as we see

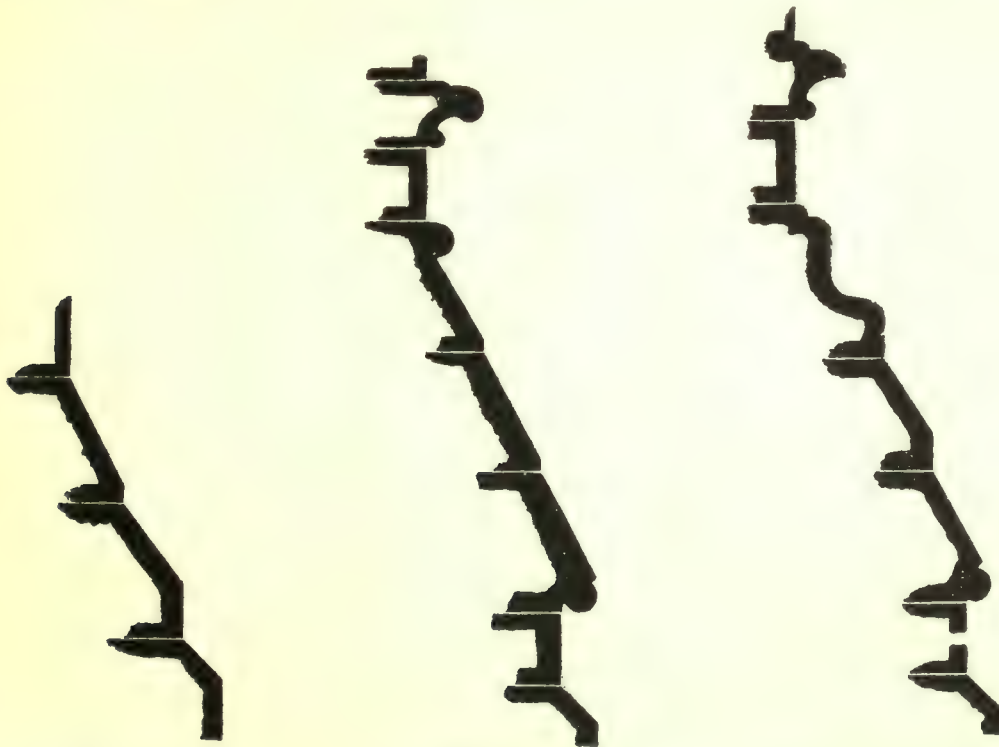


it, has been erected bit by bit during the course of nearly three successive centuries. Although closer inspection reveals variations in details which indicate their age, it is evident that an earnest and altogether unusual effort has been made to assimilate the more recent work to the old in its more important features. Perhaps the best illustration of this is to be found in the façades of the chapter-house. Here we have the same base as that of the choir, and the same windows—narrow lancets with clustered shafts in the jambs and between the two lights—a perfect thirteenth-century elevation, and yet there can

be little doubt that this building as it now stands was not completed till the fifteenth century. Of course we must bear in mind that the chapter-house and also the hall of the vicars choral and the aisle vaulted by Blacader may have been completed in the thirteenth century, and subsequently ruined by violence or accident,—it is indeed difficult to suppose that a chapter-house was begun about 1230, and then left unfinished for nearly two hundred years; but now even so low down as the window sills,

—the sills of apparently early lancet windows—we find this base (see preceding page) which was not invented till the fifteenth century. Beneath that level the masonry seems as old as the choir.

About the time this apparently thirteenth-century chapter-house was being built here, the Perpendicular style was fully developed in England; but there is hardly a trace of Perpendicular work in Glasgow.



Base of Nave.

Base of Choir.

Base of Blacader's Aisle.

It will be observed that the moulded base of the choir ends at what we have assumed to be the corner buttress of the original church. The Norman or Transitional base begins there, and is carried through Blacader's Aisle and round the whole nave. As the base of Blacader's Aisle differs slightly from the choir base, we have three varieties of base.

The lower church is lighted by acutely pointed lancets, with clustered shafts wrought on the jambs and dividing piers,



Exterior of second and third Bays east of Blacader's Aisle.

and boldly moulded arches. In the two centre bays of the east end, the design is slightly varied. The hood-moulding and the outer order of arch mouldings are continued past the keys of the lancets till they meet, forming a relieving arch over the two lights. It has been suggested that these two arches were formed to facilitate the construction of the choir by providing a convenient way for carrying in materials, and that

after they had served this purpose, the bays were completed as we now see them; but as the materials would arrive from the west on the high level, there can be little doubt that they would be utilised at and above that level without being first taken down to the lowest part of the site and then raised again. It must be remembered that there was no nave at that time,

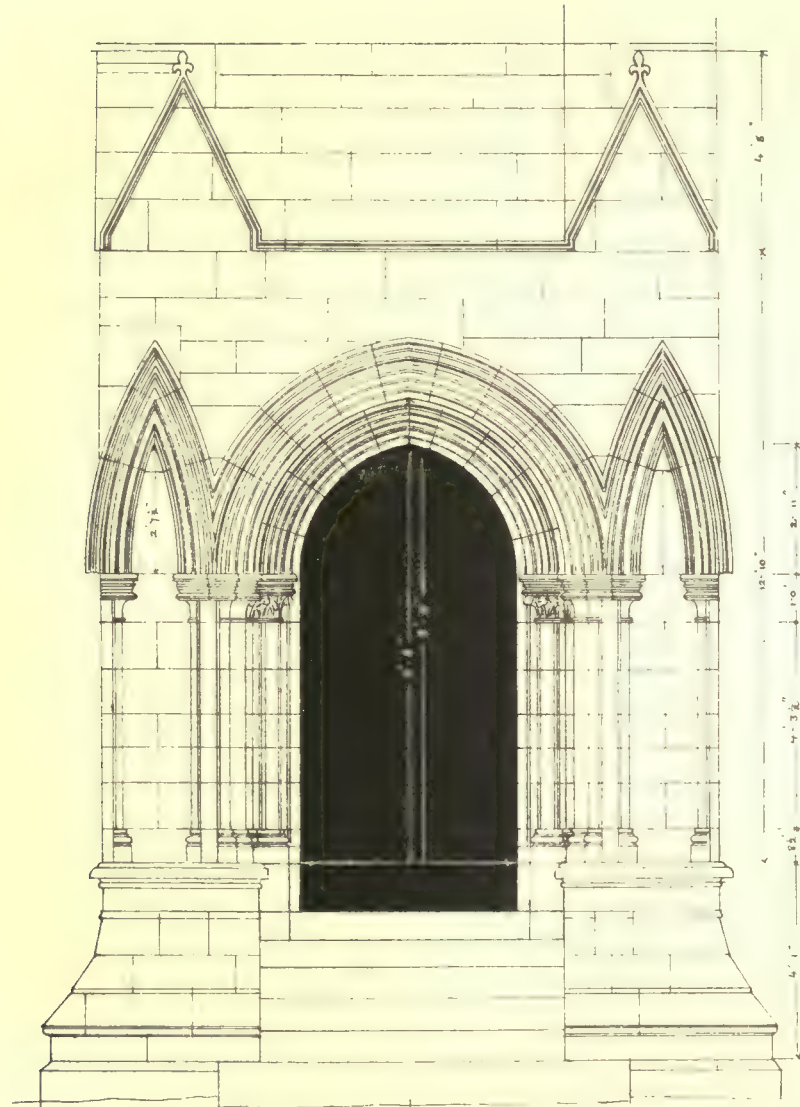


South Doorway of Lower Church (Rob Roy Doorway).

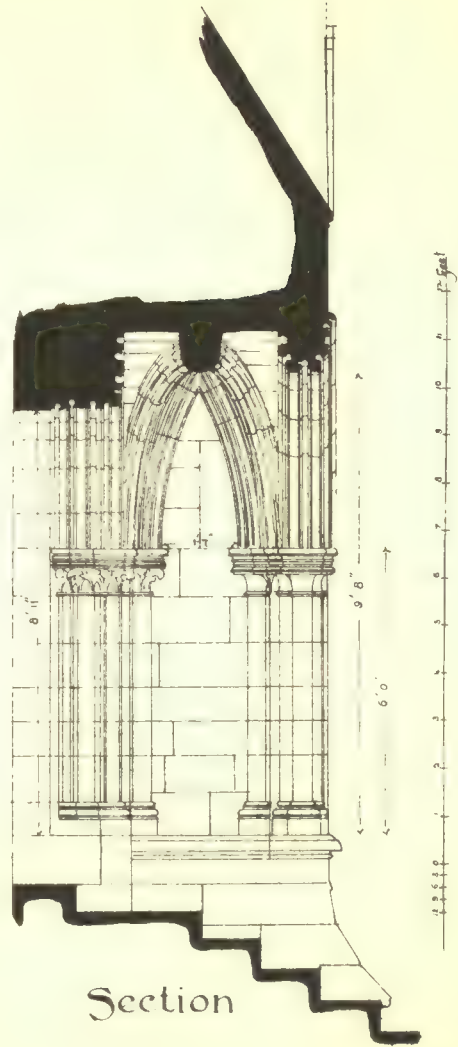
but only portions of the external walls, as already described, and there was therefore nothing to hinder the stones and mortar being carried into the new choir from the west. The true explanation of the change of treatment at this point is that it was rendered necessary owing to the circumstance that these two bays are not so wide as the rest, as the width of the choir between the piers is considerably less than twice the width of the aisles; and although the architect has ingeniously gained a little by reducing the centre buttress by 6 inches above the base course, and the buttresses at each side 3 inches by set-offs on the inner sides, the two centre bays remain 3 feet narrower than the others. It was thus impossible to repeat the deeply-moulded jambs on both sides of the centre pier as in the other bays, and the difficulty has been skilfully surmounted.

The most beautiful features of the exterior are the doorways, especially those of the lower church. That on the south side may be described as an exquisite little porch. The buttresses on either side form the sides, and the recess formed by the arcading gives space for the introduction of benches. Benches are also introduced at the north doorway, which, however, is not protected by a roof. The south door of the nave has no porch, but it is deeply recessed; and, to admit of this, the thickness is increased up to the level of the spring of the aisle windows. Above that level a window is introduced with tracery corresponding with that in the other windows of the south aisle. The buttresses which flank this door are adorned by niches with canopies of Early Pointed type. Here, as elsewhere throughout the building, the small shafts are not detached, but are wrought on the "rybats" or jambs. Unfortunately at this door and the

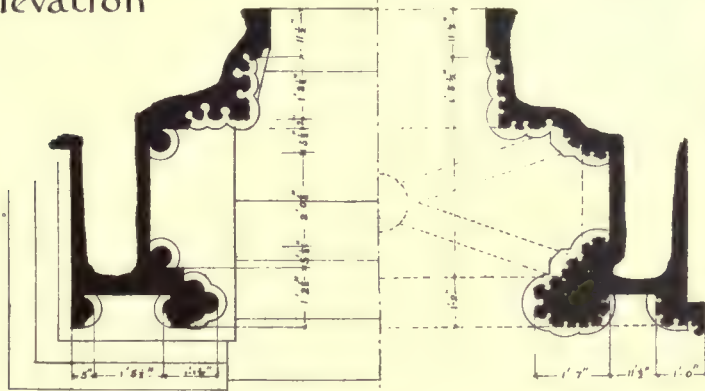
GLASGOW CATHEDRAL
S.E. DOORWAY.
Details.



Elevation

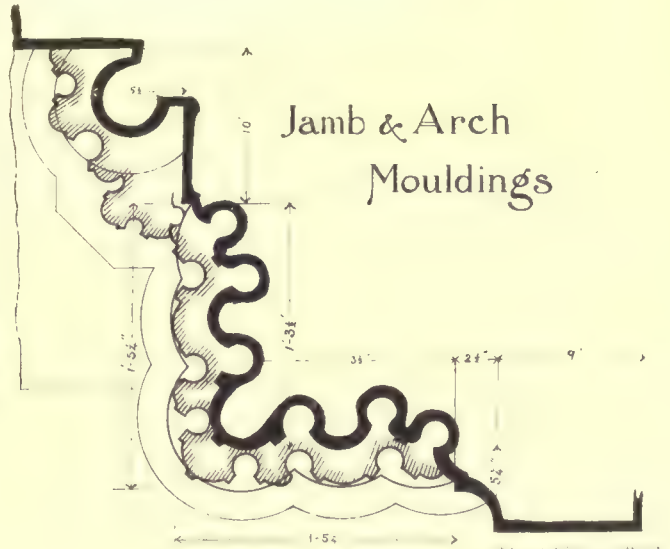


Section



Plan at Jamb

Plan at Springing



Jamb & Arch
Mouldings

great western door, and in many other parts of the building, the mouldings have been largely — we may say recklessly — restored in cement, which detracts greatly from their interest and value, and may in some cases prove misleading. The western door is



North Doorway of Lower Church.

characterised by great simplicity, combined with delicacy of detail, and it is almost destitute of carving.¹

The large western window is modern, as are also the large windows in the transept, but the others appear to be original. Those in the north aisle of the choir may be described as very original. Differing considerably from those in the south aisle, of

¹ See illustration to "The Western Towers," *infra*.

which a view is afforded on page 242, they are a modification of the common Early English arrangement, where three lancets are grouped under one equilateral arch. In the Glasgow windows the centre light is only a few inches higher than the side lights; so



South Door of Nave.

that a large area of tympanum is left to be dealt with. This is treated as plate tracery in a very curious way. A quatrefoil opening is pierced through over the centre light, and at either side of it is an elongated opening with a trefoil head, the mouldings round which spring from small columns with moulded capitals wrought on the sides. The mullions are broad, and a bold series of mouldings is carried round each light.

The windows in the north aisle of nave are of the usual early form, the centre lancet rising as high as the soffit of the enclosing arch will allow. The windows of the south aisle, however, are strikingly different, and evidently of later date. In these it may be said that geometrical tracery has become fully developed.

The lower windows in the transept gables are two-light windows, with early geometrical tracery springing from the caps of small shafts on jambs and mullions. There are two of these windows in each gable, with a heavy pier between, the composition, which is admirably treated, extending across the transept.

The clerestory shows windows of simple lancet form, those in the nave being divided by mullions and tracery without cusping, so that the general effect of the nave clerestory is very similar to that of the choir. The same heavy parapet surrounds both the clerestory and the aisles, and is only relieved by large gargoyles, most of which have been renewed or altered.

The belfry stage of the central tower is chiefly remarkable for



Bays in South Aisle of Nave (exterior).

the skill with which it has been made to harmonise with the older portions of the building. Erected so late as the middle of the fifteenth century, it has, up to the parapet, quite the effect of a



North Transept from floor of Nave.

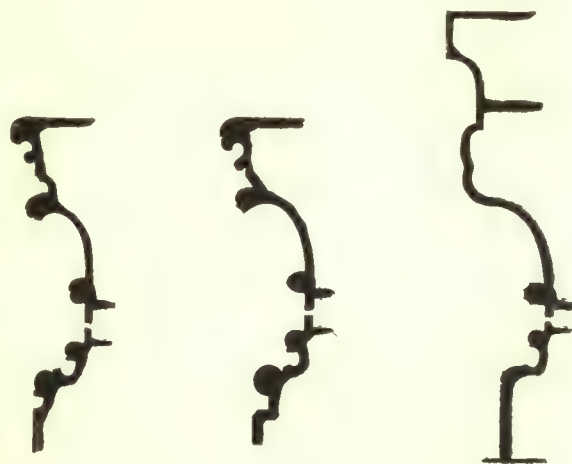
thirteenth-century tower. The parapet and spire, however, are evidently late work, of a type common in Scotland down to the period of the Reformation.

It may be noticed that the base of the nave is stepped up at irregular intervals to suit the slope of the ground, and, what is

more unusual, the window sills in both aisles follow it to some extent, those at the west end being at a higher level than those at the east.

We have already referred to the chapter-house, and will only further call attention to the curious and picturesque way in which the buttresses are weathered in at the top. This, and the general effect of the building, is well seen in our illustration of the north-east view.¹

Passing now to the interior, it will be seen by the plan that there were originally six ways by which the lower church could be entered, namely, the north and south doors, the north and south transept doors, and the north and south



On South Wall.

On North Wall.

On East Wall.

Detail of Shafts in South-west Entrance to Lower Church.

stairs from the nave. These approaches are still available except the south transept door, which is now cut off from the exterior by Blacader's Aisle. In the north, passing through the small vaulted porch, we find the beautiful doorway leading from it into the lower church, and the staircase descending from it, very much as designed by the architect of the choir. On the south side the design has been considerably interfered with, owing to the circumstance that the small portion of the Transitional church, which still partly stands, appears to have been preserved and used

¹ See also pp. 214 and 217.

till after the choir, or, at least, the lower church, was completed, and then converted into a passage to the lower church by cutting through the old east wall and dealing with the rest of the small chamber in a way which it is now hardly possible to understand. The cutting above mentioned shows the section of the bench-table, which has a chamfer on the under edge, while all the later bench-tables in the building have a cavetto.

On entering the lower church, one is at once struck by the great variety in the disposition and design of the piers, and the great beauty and apparent intricacy of the vaulting;¹ but on closer examination it will be found that the plan is perfectly symmetrical, and yet so skilfully arranged that due prominence is given to important points—the tomb of St Kentigern and the portion of the high altar.² Both of these have received special attention, and are most skilfully treated. The shrine of the patron saint is raised above the floor, and the steps at the west side of the platform are greatly worn. The vault under the high altar is particularly rich in ribs and sculptured bosses. The crown of this vault is also higher than the others, the architect having skilfully availed himself of the extra height available at this point, owing to the floor on which the high altar stood being raised above the level of the choir floor. There can be no doubt that the whole vaulting of the lower church—the arrangement of which is shown on our plan—formed part of the architect's original design, but whether actually executed before or after the completion of the choir, it is impossible now to

¹ See Plan of Lower Church, p. 234.

² See p. 36.

determine.¹ We may point out, however, that there were very strong reasons for its completion as soon as possible after the level of the choir floor was reached, as it was necessary to provide some place where the services of the church might be continued, and it was also necessary to clear away the old choir before the new one could be carried above the level of the main arcading, which could not stand its superincumbent load without sufficient abutments at the west end.

Sir Gilbert Scott, in his lecture on the "Vaulting of the Lower Church,"² remarks that the most striking peculiarity of the vaulting is that you can nowhere see two compartments in juxtaposition which are alike. We have first a composition embracing two bays, then one of three bays, then one of one bay, then another of three bays, and at the west end another of one bay (see Plan of Lower Church, p. 234 *ante*), and he seems to think that the only reason for the unusual distribution of the pillars was to show how cleverly the architect could surmount the vaulting difficulties which the eccentricities of his plan created. A different explanation has recently been suggested by Mr E. C. Morgan, a gentleman well versed both in mediæval architecture and masonic lore. His suggestion is that the motive of the architect was to reproduce, as nearly as circumstances permitted, the plan of the Temple of Solomon. We think this idea may be interesting, especially to brethren of the Masonic

¹ In a paper read before the Glasgow Archæological Society in December 1897, Mr T. L. Watson, architect, takes a different view, and states reasons for his opinion that the vaulting under the choir was not erected till the choir was almost completed; and that then the architect departed from his original design, and substituted the arrangement which we now see.

² "Mediæval Architecture," by George Gilbert Scott, vol. ii. p. 200.

craft, and without pursuing the subject further here, we may point out that, with one exception, which is capable of easy explanation, the arrangement under the choir corresponds exactly with that shown upon a plan of Solomon's Temple, published by Mr M'Intyre North many years ago.¹ It may also interest many of our readers to know that there are, especially in the choir and lower church, many unmistakable signs that the designer was an erudite Freemason.

Immediately east from this point and under the east aisles, the floor is lowered to the extent of 4 feet 4 inches. Here we have the four chapels which are divided by walls, previously mentioned. In the north and south division walls there are openings of two lights, with trefoil-headed arches springing from clustered shafts. In each case there is, slightly raised on the sill of the eastmost of the two openings, a piscina basin, the other sill no doubt serving as a credence table. The same arrangement has originally existed in the centre division. The responds of the little arcade in this centre division remain exactly like the others, but the trefoil arches and the centre pillars have been cut out and a single arch inserted between the responds, which are 6 feet 6 inches apart. Underneath this arch rests the effigy of Bishop Robert Wishart, who was buried here in 1317. The eastern bays, both of the lower and upper church, are remarkably elegant, and more enriched with carving than any other part. The chapter-house door has, as usual, received special attention, and not only are the capitals carved, but a band of sculpture extends round the arch and down the jambs. All the carving

¹ "Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty," by C. N. M'Intyre North, architect, p. 11.



Door of Chapter-house, from Lower Church.

is considerably defaced, which increases the difficulty of interpreting its meaning.

The sculptured band round the chapter-house door, in which



Door of Chapter-house, from Interior.

many figures are introduced, has given rise to much ingenious speculation as to its meaning, which we think still remains mysterious. Our illustration gives an excellent idea of the door, and of part of the adjoining bay. The chapter-house is rather a plain apartment, measuring 28 feet 9 inches by 28 feet 9 inches. The vaulting springs from a central pillar and responds, and intermediate wall-shafts. The respond on the east side is abruptly stopped on the projecting canopy over the dean's seat, in a way which suggests that the latter has been inserted after the walls were built. The elaborate work over the dean's seat is greatly defaced,

but it is evidently late compared with its surroundings. The base of the centre pillar and the responds is similar to the bases in the lower church, while that of the intermediate shafts—which are octagonal—is of a somewhat later type, though the same as others in the choir. The whole interior up to the

level of the capitals seems to be in the same early style; but, on the other hand, it must be observed that the bases on the window sills, to which we have already referred (see p. 240, *ante*), were impossible before the close of the fourteenth century, whereas it was quite possible to build the upper walls as we see them after that date. The lower part of the east, north, and west walls, and also the whole of the south wall, including the responds, wall-shafts, and springers of the ribs there, are unquestionably as old as the choir, and it was most natural that the builders of the new west, north, and east walls should leave the old bases alone, and adhere to the section of responds and wall-shafts already partly built. When they got to the level of the capitals, however, they did not think it necessary to regard the old design further, and so we have on the early English respond the rich late sculpture so well shown on our view from the chapter-house looking south—in which we also get a glimpse of the piscinæ at the east end of lower church.

WILHUS: FVDA: ISTVT: CAPILM: DEI

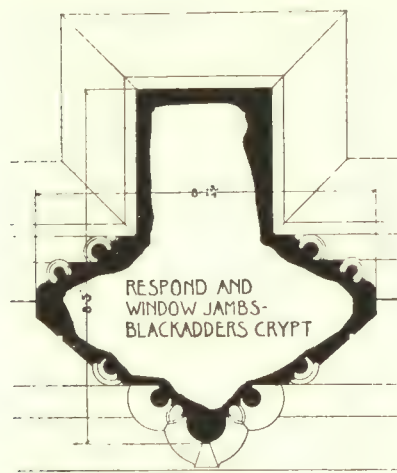
Inscription over Dean's Seat in Chapter-house.¹

The inscription over the dean's seat is somewhat obscure, but it is generally understood to imply that the chapter-house was founded by Bishop Lauder, which is not strictly true, as we have seen. It was founded by another William—William de

¹ The inscription, *Wilms fuda istut capilm Dei*, Archbishop Eyre interprets as *Willelmus fundavit istud capitulum (in honorem) Dei*; and from the arms of Bishop Lauder—a griffin salient—displayed on the same spot, takes it to mean, "(Bishop) William (Lauder) laid the foundation of this chapter-house in God's honour."—*Glasgow Archaeological Society's Transactions*, New Series, vol. ii., part ii., p. 154.

Bondington. We give a transcript of this inscription from a careful rubbing, without attempting to translate it.

Another adjunct, namely, the crypt known as "Blacader's Aisle," suggests, like the chapter-house, several rather puzzling problems to the architectural student. The vaulting and the walls above the spring were built by Archbishop Blacader towards the close of the fifteenth century. His work also includes the capitals of the



PLAN OF RESPOND AND
WINDOW JAMBS.
BLACKADDERS CRYPT.

pillars and wall-shafts. The work below these appears to belong to an earlier period, and the plan of the responds and window-jambs, as will be seen from our illustration, closely resembles that of the lower church. It would seem, therefore, that long before the time of Blacader a building was commenced here which was not completed by its founder. It was probably designed to be a chapel, having access from the church by the door in the south transept. This is a

very beautiful doorway,¹ and we may safely assume that the designer of the proposed chapel never intended to treat it as the archbishop has done; we may therefore infer that the original intention was to have a somewhat higher building here, but not a building of two stories. The fifteenth-century architect, however, designed the principal apartment to be on the level of the choir, and part of the walls of the second story still stand.

The work which has been done here in Archbishop Blacader's

¹ See p. 51.



Interior of Blacader's Aisle, looking North.

time is exceedingly interesting as an example of Scottish architecture of the period, so dissimilar in many respects to the contemporary architecture of England. Unfortunately the vaulting has been greatly injured, and much of the beauty of the ribs destroyed, by the constant percolation of water from above during many generations. This has now been stopped, but formerly the whole aisle was covered with soil, and was under cultivation as a garden. Curiously, the carving, which is rich and varied, has escaped better than the mouldings, and is well deserving of careful examination. Mr Andrew Macgeorge, writing in 1880,¹ called attention to a piece of rude sculpture on a spandrel facing the door, representing a figure on a cart, with the legend above and below it—"THIS IS THE ILE OF CAR (OR GAR) FERGUS,"² and he inferred from this that the crypt was dedicated to St Fergus, and should be called Fergus's Crypt; but we think this conclusion hardly warranted. It was not customary to label the shrines of the saints, although the custom may have become fashionable in a comparatively degenerate age, when mediæval architects inscribed their names and deeds upon their works; but the whole design and execution of this piece of sculpture is so bad that we cannot imagine it placed there by direction of either Bishop Blacader or his clever architect. The truth is that Fergus was an entirely mythical character, called into existence about the same time as the queen who lost her ring and the fish that found it, hundreds of years after the good St Kentigern had fallen asleep, and all authentic records of his life had perished. It is a significant fact, that among the many altars in the cathedral dedicated to both

¹ "Old Glasgow, the Place and the People," by Andrew Macgeorge, p. 10.

² See page 11, and footnote.

Celtic and Roman saints, none is to be found either in Blacader's Aisle or elsewhere dedicated to St Fergus.

On entering the choir, the peculiarity of the east end is at once apparent. The pillar under the centre of the gable is reduced in width by the small lateral shafts being cut off to within a short distance of the capital, where they rest on carved corbels, one of which is seen in our illustration. This allows the eastern aisles, with their coupled lancets, to be better seen. These two aisles are remarkable for the elegance of their design and the delicacy of the details. The wall of the eastern aisle is more highly enriched with dog-tooth ornament and carving than any other part of the choir. At either side



Centre Pier, East end of Choir.

of the responds small attached shafts extend into the window bay, carrying the rear arch of the window, so that there is



Choir from Organ-Loft.

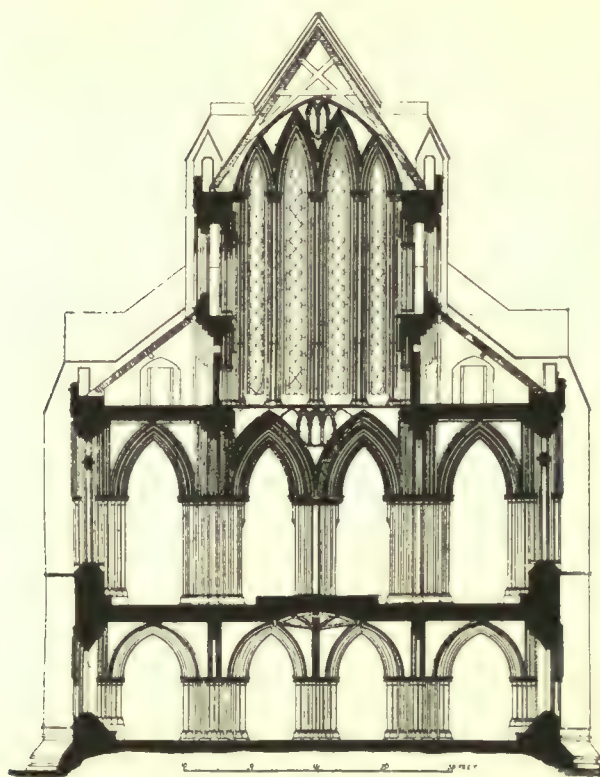
really no plain surface seen in the whole composition, except below the window sill. In this space, and at the south side, is placed a piscina, which seems to have served for the four altars. The drain from this piscina has no connection with the earth, but delivers its contents into the open air through a gargoyle which projects from the east wall. At the opposite end of the aisle is the door into the sacristy, a lofty apartment erected by Bishop Cameron about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Our view of the Choir from the Organ-Loft gives an excellent idea of the general effect of this portion of the building as it now stands, fitted up for use as a Presbyterian place of worship.¹ It will be observed that the spandril over the centre pier is enriched with niches in which statuettes formerly stood, and above this the whole east gable is occupied by the four acutely-pointed lancet windows, the two largest of which rise to a height of about 40 feet above the sill. The small windows seen through the main arcade are in the eastern aisle.

The side walls of the aisles are treated in the same manner as the wall of the east aisle, only instead of the coupled lancets of the latter we have the three lancets with the plate tracing over them already described. The effect of these walls is almost destroyed by the clumsy seats which have been fitted up in both aisles, the backs of which are as high as the window sills. The whole choir is packed full of unnecessarily high and clumsy pews. They are particularly objectionable in the aisles, from which they ought to be

¹ A view of the interior about the year 1822 will be found on p. 170.

entirely excluded. All the aisles are vaulted, but the main body of the church has been designed to have a wooden roof. There are nevertheless small shafts carried up over the main pillar as if for vaulting. The capitals of the main piers are richly carved, but in these, as elsewhere, patching with cement has been



Transverse Section of Choir and Lower Church at High Altar.

carried to an unwarrantable extent. Nothing can possibly be worse in the way of restoration than the attempt to bring back every curve of foliage and every hewn arris to its original form by filling up every irregularity with cement.

Of these capitals we can only say now that they give some idea of the original work. Carving has been very sparingly introduced in the older parts of the building, and the character of the carving of these capitals

differs considerably from that of the capitals in the lower church, and in the east end of the choir, and is probably somewhat later. Our illustrations admit of a comparison being made by those conversant with the subject, and we may here remark that the method we have adopted for conveying, to those interested in the subject, a correct idea of the architectural features of the building, is by a combination of photographs and

scale drawings—chiefly sections of details. These latter show the means used by the architect to produce the desired effect, and the photograph shows the result with a fidelity which cannot be approached by any line drawing. This is especially true where



Bay of Triforium in Choir.

sculpture or delicate mouldings have to be represented, as reference to many of our illustrations will show. With these before him the student can recognise such shades of difference as we have indicated almost as well as if he had the actual stone to examine and handle.

The triforium is of a type frequently met with. The triforium is not carried round the east end, but the window sill is skilfully brought down to the level of the triforium, and the windows being carried up above the clerestory, are of very lofty and elegant proportions. The two centre lancets are higher than the others, but the arrangement of four lights, which necessitates a pier in the centre, can hardly be regarded as entirely satisfactory.

At the opposite end of the choir stands the stone rood-screen.¹ The side next the choir is hidden by a clumsy arcading of wood supporting a gallery. The east side of the screen was intended to be hidden by canopied stalls. The west face of the screen is a very interesting example of late Scottish architecture. The design is pleasing, and the execution excellent. The door in the centre has a low elliptical arch with delicate mouldings, which are continued down the jambs to the moulded bases, without the intervention of a capital. On either side the wall is relieved by a series of panels with cusped heads—a species of light arcading, and within each of these, in former times, was a statuette resting on a sculptured corbel. Above this, a cornice of many members, springs a pierced parapet, the pedestals of which rest on corbels, which break the cornice at frequent intervals. These corbels are excellent specimens of mediæval carving, representing figure subjects of somewhat difficult interpretation. In his interesting little book, “A Mediæval Architect,” Mr P. Macgregor Chalmers calls attention to a striking similarity between the mouldings of the door in the south transept of Melrose Abbey and those of the door in the Glasgow rood-screen, and argues from this that

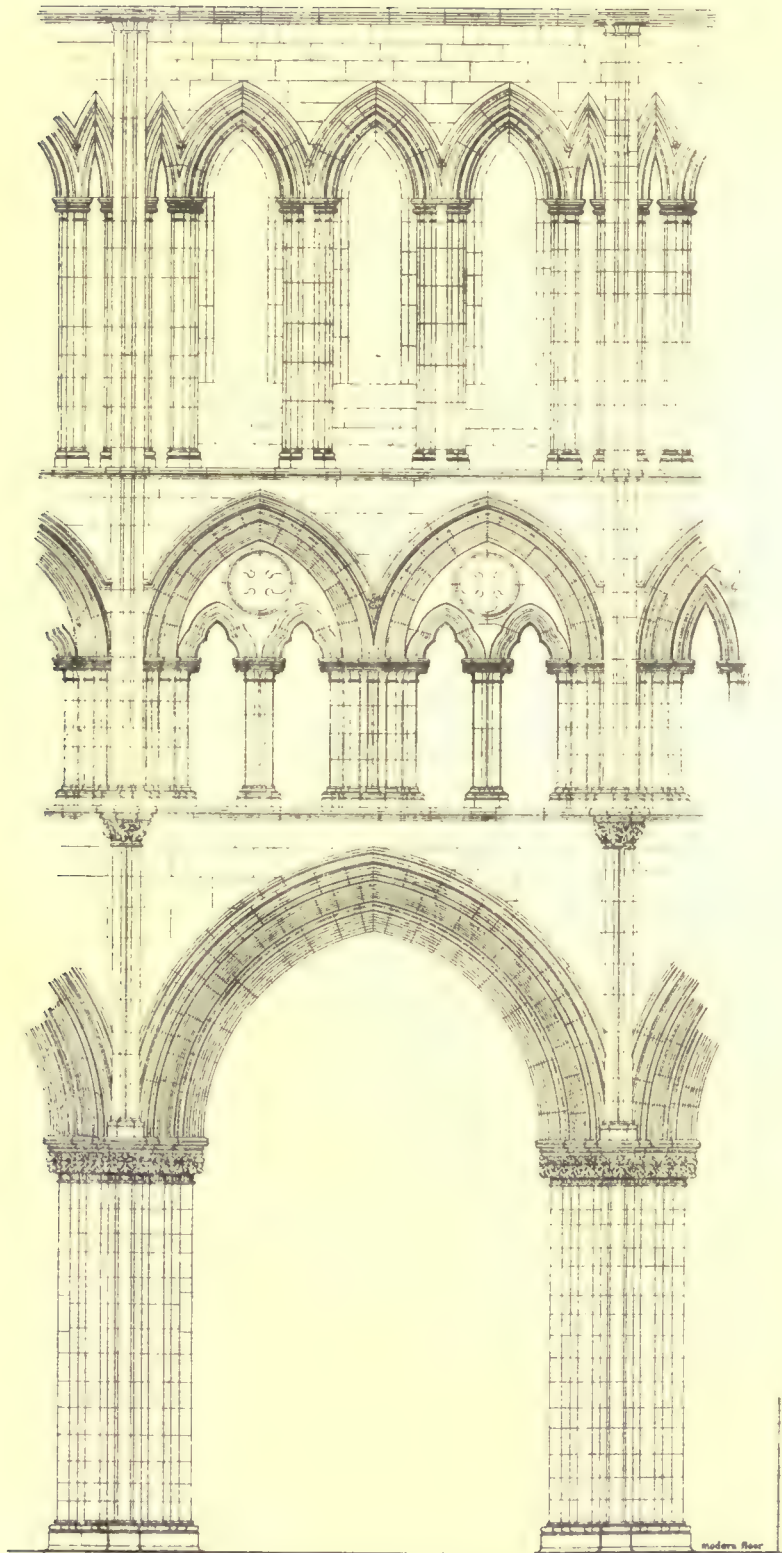
¹ See plate in “The Ancient Altars,” *infra*.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL. BAY OF THE CHOIR.

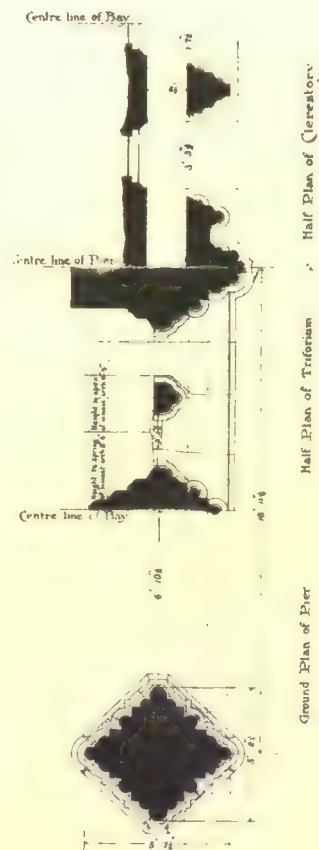
The Bay measured is the second from East end on the North side but for convenience of measurement the Pier Arch moulding is taken from the Westmost Bay on the same side.

No measurements taken above Clerestory arches.

Jointing of Masonry measured only where readily accessible.



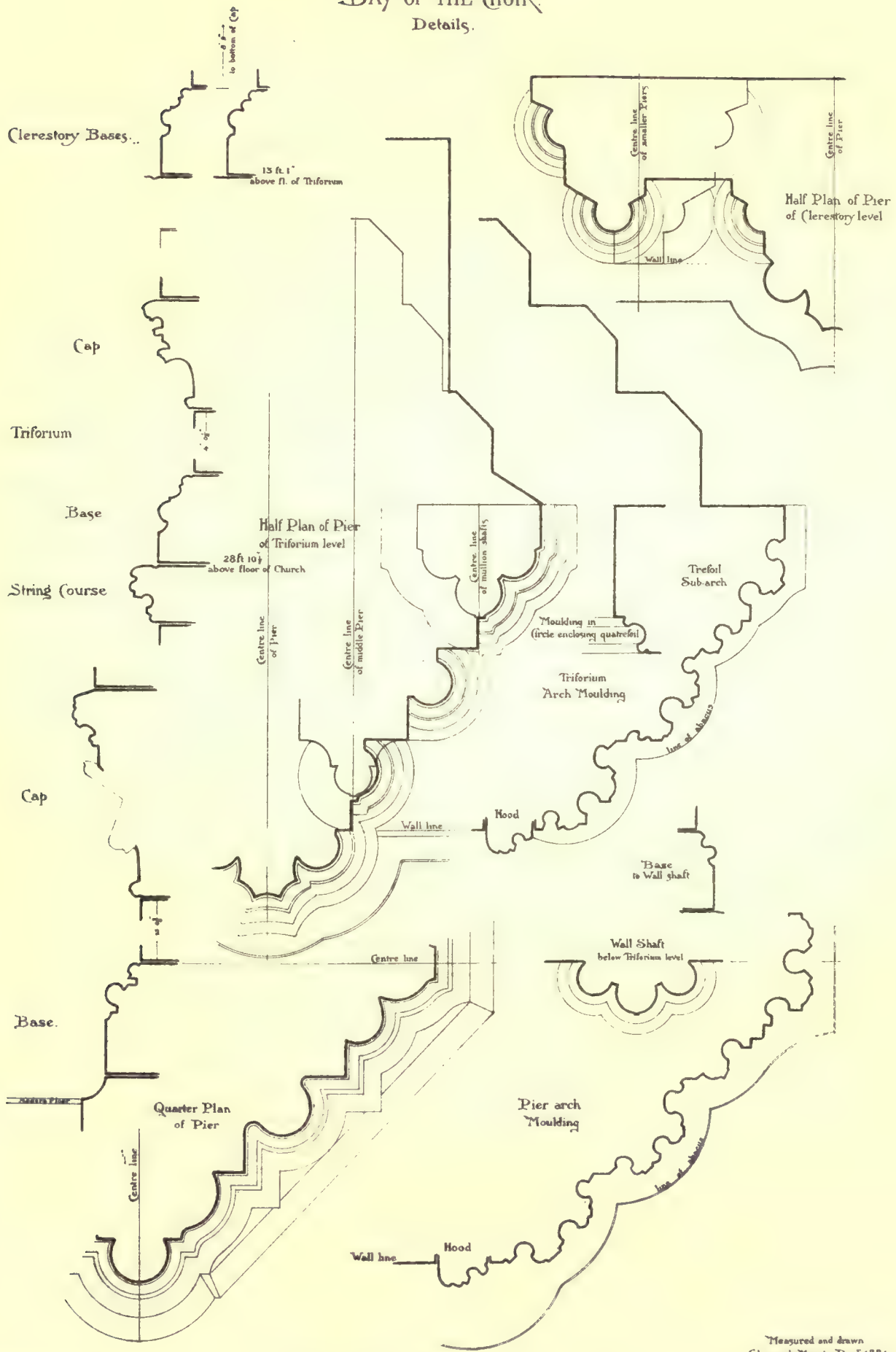
Interior Elevation.



Plans.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

BAY OF THE CHOIR. Details.



Measured and drawn
Glasgow, May to Decr 1884
William J. Anderson

these two works were designed by the same architect towards the close of the fifteenth century, during the episcopate of Archbishop Blacader. This conjecture is probably correct, and there are other grounds for believing that the screen was erected by the archbishop. About this time stone rood-screens, bearing



Triforium, East side of North Transept.

considerable resemblance to that at Glasgow, were erected in many other churches, and no doubt several of these were designed by the same man, John Morvo, whose name appears on the walls of the Melrose transept. The design is not distinctively Scottish, which may very well be accounted for by the fact that Morvo was a Frenchman. The design of the vaulting of Blacader's

Aisle, however, must be attributed to some one else. At the base of the screen, on the west side, stand the remains of two altars erected by Archbishop Blacader. The sculpture on these



Bay of Triforium and Clerestory in Nave

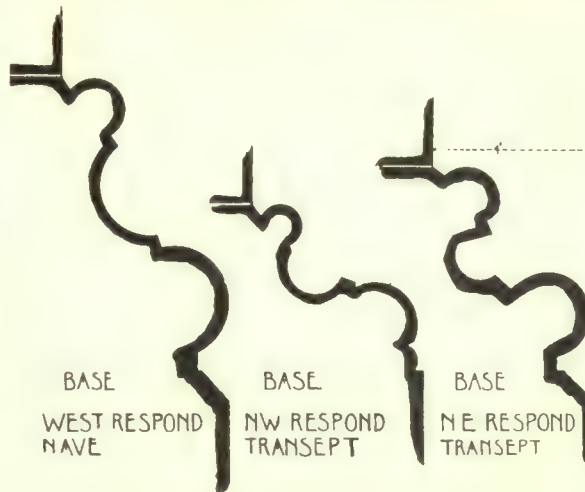
monuments has been greatly defaced, and it is evident that during the restoration, about fifty years ago, the monuments have been taken down and unskilfully re-erected. Some parts of the south end of the altar of St Mary of Pity have been misplaced, but the carving of the Bishop's Arms there has almost escaped injury, and is excellent.

In the transept the whole modern treatment of the stairs leading from the nave to the choir aisles is wrong. There can be little doubt that, as originally designed, the upper level was reached by *one* flight of steps on each side, rising directly from the nave aisles,

clear of the large pillars supporting the west side of the tower. It would be a distinct improvement to revert to this plan, and at the same time to remove the clumsy adaptation of the rood-screen parapet which serves as a handrail. The triforium of the transept may be described as more curious than beautiful.

The nave has a much grander and more impressive effect than we should expect to find in a building of the size. This is no doubt due to the simplicity and massiveness of the piers, and their great height in proportion to their spacing. The spacing is that of the twelfth century (considerably less than that of the choir), while the height and the treatment, in other respects, is that of the latter portion of the thirteenth. The north side of the nave appears to have been carried considerably higher than the south side

before the work on this portion of the cathedral was interrupted by Bishop Bondington, which accounts, among other things, for the different treatments of the windows in the two aisles already referred to. No trace of twelfth century work is



to be found west from the choir, unless (it may be) the base course; although, as we have seen, part of the walls still standing was built very early in the thirteenth, the plan and base mouldings of west responds of nave and west responds of transept clearly indicate this. Of these, the respond at the north-west corner of the transept is the oldest, that at the north side of the western door is nearly as old, and the other two are a good deal later. We find this chiefly from the mouldings of the base. The oldest respond has a beautiful early base, enough of which remains to give us the contour of the upper part correctly as here shown, although the lower part

is somewhat doubtful. The base of the north-west respond of main arcade is almost exactly the same, with a slight difference in the plinth. The bases of the two other responds are like those of the choir, and have probably been executed about the time when the great pillars at the crossing were commenced, when the choir was approaching completion. The small responds opposite each pillar in the nave have the same early base as that at the west side of the north transept, and square plinths. The bases of the choir responds are distinctly later. They differ from the bases of the larger pillars, but a similar type of base is to be found in the chapter-house and in Blacader's Aisle.

It is possible, indeed likely, that Jocelin contemplated the erection of a nave as well as a choir, and that he actually commenced the work; but it is certain that he never completed it, otherwise we would still have his Transitional nave, which none of his successors would have thought of touching, as it is evident that it was with great difficulty that funds were raised to complete the nave as we see it, during a long course of years. To suppose that the nave was finished in the twelfth century, then taken down to the base and commenced anew in a later style, without any enlargement or any alteration in the spacing of the pillars, just for the fun of the thing, in short, is simply out of the question. There was no time for anything of the kind. Some of the work we have just been describing must have been executed within fifteen years after Jocelin's death, and from that time forward, as the details at different stages show, the work of rearing the first complete nave went slowly and intermittently on.



Photographed by Anselm & mounted from a Photograph by John M. Brown.

The Nave looking East.

The north side of the nave is unfortunately not in a very satisfactory condition, both the aisle wall and the clerestory having a very perceptible inclination outwards. The defect, however, is not of recent origin, and it is under careful supervision.

Before leaving the interior of the building, we may remark that it is greatly to be regretted that the beauty of the choir should be so seriously marred by the adaptation to the requirements of a large Presbyterian congregation. The peculiar relationship of the parties interested—the Government, the Town Council, and the congregation—is dealt with elsewhere.¹ Here we are only concerned with the architecture, and what we specially desire to see is every bench and chair swept out of the aisles, north, south, and east, the east side of the rood-screen clothed again with some work rivalling the beauty of its original drapery of carved and traceried oak, and some attempt made to restore the kind of benches and the number of them which the choir was designed to hold. The congregation should meet for ordinary services in the nave, where the introduction of chairs might be tolerated. Another thing, too, we earnestly desire to see, and that is the removal of every vestige of stained glass from the lower church, so that the light of heaven may once more reveal its hidden and unrivalled beauties, and illuminate the hallowed spot—now shrouded in darkness—where the sainted founder of the See rests.

It is remarkable that at a spot which has been, during so many centuries, a noted religious centre, we should find so few

¹ See article, "The Cathedral and the Municipality," by James Paton, F.L.S., *supra*.

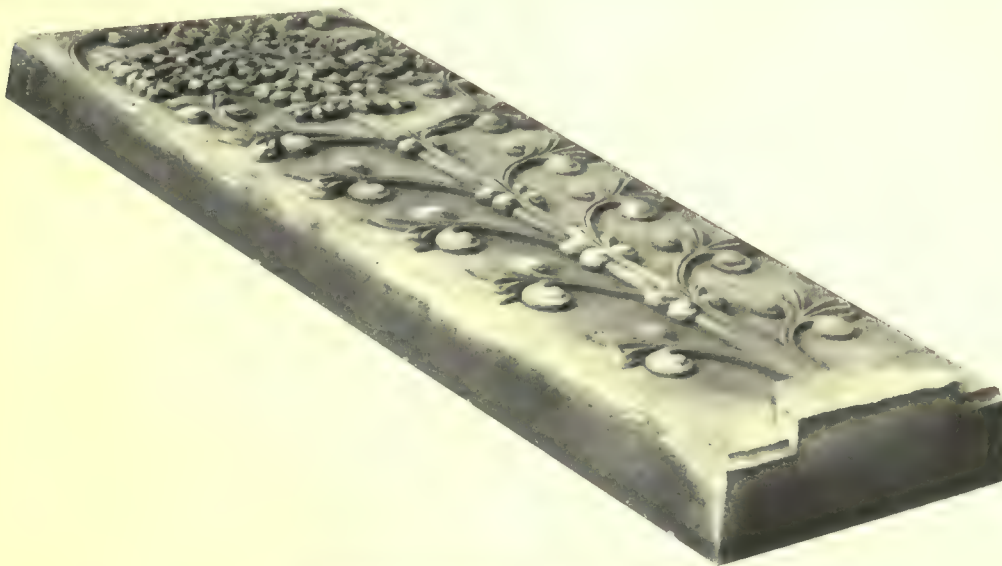
pre-Reformation monuments, while at Govan, whose ecclesiastical history is comparatively obscure, we have still a very large collection of Celtic sculptured slabs, hog-backed stones, and the celebrated sarcophagus. There are two causes which may have contributed to this. First, that Govan was a sequestered spot on a perfectly level plain, far from probable scenes of conflict in troublous times, while Glasgow, occupying a more important strategical position, was more exposed to the ravages of conflicting tribes. The other



Slab now used as tombstone in cathedral yard, opposite South Door of Nave.

circumstance is, that during the twelfth century the monuments of the Celtic Church appear to have been treated with great disrespect, and in numerous instances used as ordinary building stones, and it is probable that in the thick walls of Glasgow Cathedral many interesting slabs lie buried. A few slabs or coffin lids may still be recognised in the cathedral yard, although no sculpture remains, except in one example,—a slab of more than ordinary interest, which lies a little way south from the south door of the nave. This stone measures 6 feet 5 inches by

2 feet 3 inches. On the upper surface is the effigy of an ecclesiastic in low relief, very much worn away, and on the vertical edges of the slab there is a band of interlacing ornament all round in good preservation. This is an unusual feature, and may indicate that this slab was the lid of a sarcophagus, which, like that at Govan, was not buried, but exposed to view.



Tombstone opposite West Door of Nave.

Design reproduced from Lid of Stone Coffin in Lower Church, same size.

In the west end of the lower church are two stone coffins and lids, which have been laid level with the pavement, and are very much worn. On one of them still remains enough of a beautiful thirteenth-century cross to enable us to realise the complete design, which is one of exceptional excellence. Our illustration shows a faithful restoration of it. It appears to have been executed before the middle of the thirteenth century, and may have marked the grave of Bishop Walter, who preceded Bondington.

The tomb of Bishop Wishart¹ is the only other mediæval monument worthy of notice. The effigy for many years lay over the tomb of St Kentigern, and was popularly supposed to be the effigy of that saint, but it is a fourteenth century work. It was evidently intended for the place it now occupies, although it is not a particularly good fit. The explanation appears to be that the artist employed to make it was furnished with a wrong dimension. The original intention seems to have been to cut away not merely the two trefoil arches, but also their responds, so that the whole space under the relieving arch which is over them would be cleared away for the monument. The width between the jambs of this relieving arch would have suited the monument exactly, but, either inadvertently or otherwise, the old responds were retained, and when the effigy arrived it was thought better to cut away part of it than to alter the building further. The effigy, which has been a good example of its kind, has been subjected to very bad treatment, and is very much defaced.

After a careful examination of Glasgow Cathedral, those familiar with English thirteenth century work will be struck with the absence of that richness and elaboration of detail—that profusion of marble shafts and sculptured capitals, and dog-tooth and other ornaments, which characterise the best English examples; but they cannot fail to notice that, to some extent, these beautiful features are counterbalanced by vigorous and original treatment, and that there is abundant evidence to show that the difference is not due to the incompetence of the designer, but to the

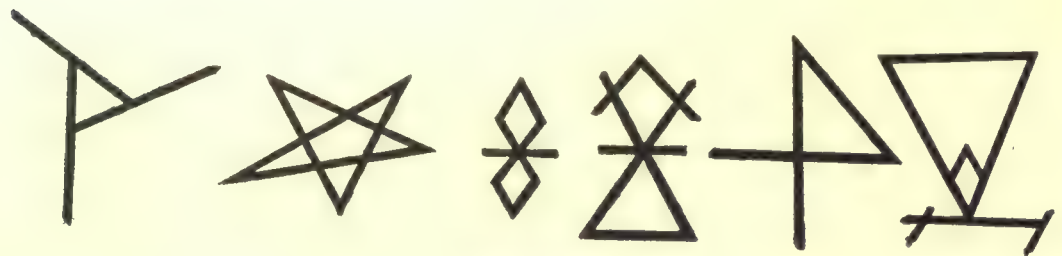
¹ See pp. 75, 182, *ante*; also "Monuments and Inscriptions," by Dr M'Adam Muir, *infra*.

conditions under which he wrought—especially that which has so often proved fatal to the architect's aspirations—want of money. If we consider the comparative poverty of Scotland, at a time when wealth depended chiefly on the produce of the soil, we shall not be disposed to wonder that so little, but rather that so much was done. And the amount of work actually accomplished in Scotland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appears still more astonishing if we bear in mind the previous ecclesiastical history of the country. It seems doubtful if there was any properly organised hierarchy in Scotland before the twelfth century.¹ The policy of the Celtic Church was diffusive rather than centralising. There were bishops, no doubt—many bishops—but it was not till the Roman branch of the Church became supreme that we had cathedrals and cathedral chapters. Of those primitive cells where Celtic saints and bishops worshipped, only enough remains to show us how very unlike cathedrals they were. It is, therefore, evident that under the new condition of things, not only were larger churches necessary, but larger endowments. The self-devotion and generosity of David I. can never be sufficiently praised, but his utmost efforts could not possibly create revenues such as the Church in the sister kingdom inherited. The accumulation of wealth was necessarily a slow process, and the amount of work accomplished by the Church in the circumstances must ever excite our surprise and admiration.

The ability displayed in the architecture of the period is not less extraordinary. We have nothing more admirable in their way

¹ See footnote, p. 37.

than the nave of Jedburgh Abbey and the lower church in Glasgow Cathedral, neither of which need the adventitious aid of additional ornament. Bearing in mind its subordinate character and its structural limitations, the design of the latter may be said to be almost perfect, and it would be exceedingly interesting to know whence the architect derived his inspiration, where he served his apprenticeship and gained his varied experience ; but we have no information on that subject. One thing, however, is abundantly clear to any one who intelligently studies the building, namely, that the whole design was carefully thought out and settled before a stone was laid. It is a skilful and homogeneous design, which could only be produced by a man of exceptional ability and of great experience. Nothing has been left to chance or to the sweet will of the co-operating craftsman, but the one master-mind has dictated every moulding and every combination, and has left the impress of his genius upon it all. The mark of the master may be discerned by the practised eye in every feature of the magnificent edifice ; the "marks" of the craftsmen may be seen on the work they were told to do, and did so well.



Masons' Marks.



THE WESTERN TOWERS.¹

BY HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.



Boss of Vaulting in Lower Church.

THE object of a monograph on the old Western Towers is to put into permanent record information about two portions of our old Cathedral that have disappeared for half a century. The importance of doing this now will be evident when we bear in mind that many persons are still alive who were familiar with the old towers, and who were witnesses of the removal; as also some persons who were employed in the work of destruction, and are able to supply their share of the evidence needed. What I have endeavoured to do is, by examination of the various engravings and drawings of the two towers, and

by conversation with work-people employed in the removal, to throw all the light possible on the subject; and thus to furnish a chapter that may be useful in the written history of Glasgow Cathedral. So much want of knowledge on the subject has been manifested by the general public, and so much difference of opinion and divergence of statement by many who have written on the subject, that correct and complete information is much needed.²

Of the old Scottish Cathedrals, only three or four had two western towers. These were Glasgow (283 feet long, or with tower 315 feet); Elgin (282 feet);

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society on 20th April 1893, and is here reproduced with the kind consent of the Council of that Society.

² The sources of information I have availed myself of are :—

1. "Essay on the Cathedral," by M'Lellan, 1833.
2. "Plans, &c.," by J. Collie, Architect, 1835.

Aberdeen (200 feet); and Brechin (198 feet). The other cathedrals had not this beautiful feature. Dunkeld and Fortrose had a north-west tower. Dunblane had a tower placed transept-wise. St. Andrews, Kirkwall, Iona, Lismore, and Whithorn had only a central tower.

Three of the monastic churches had this cathedral feature of two western towers—*i.e.*, Arbroath, a church 268 feet long, with a north-west tower 70 feet by 24 feet, and a south-west tower smaller; Holyrood church, of which only the roofless nave now remains; and Dunfermline, a church 276 feet long, with a north-west tower 24 feet square and 72 feet high, and a south tower.

The various uses of west towers were for belfries, treasury-houses, commissary or consistory courts, and libraries.

A peculiar feature about the Glasgow west towers is that they both projected wholly from the western façade, whilst those of Elgin and Aberdeen were on the line of the façade. The north-west tower of Brechin projected as in Glasgow but the south-west round tower had a very slight projection. The ground plan of the west façade and the towers, reproduced on page 280, may be seen in Collie, pl. iii., in "Plans and Elevations," pl. iv., and in Walcott, p. 178. Of these four cathedrals that had western towers, two—*i.e.*, Aberdeen and Elgin—had their two towers uniform in shape, size, and height. The two others had

3. "Glasghu Facies" (edited by Dr Gordon, 1871).
4. "Plans and Elevations of the Proposed Restorations," by the Local Committee, 1836, Hedderwick.
5. "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland," by R. Billings, 1845-52.
6. "Relics of Ancient Architecture in Glasgow," by Fairbairn, 1849.
7. "History of Glasgow Cathedral," by Jas. Pagan, 1856.
8. "The Ancient Church of Scotland," by M. Walcott, 1874.
9. "Old Glasgow," by A. Macgeorge, 1888.

Engravings, prints, and pictures of the west end of the Cathedral with the two towers may be seen in the following list, given in the order of their relative value:—

1. Collie (1835)—(a) West Elevation, pl. xvii.; (b) Towers from south-east, pl. ii.; (c) Towers from south, pl. iv.; (d) Ground Plan of Towers, pl. iii., reproduced on p. 280, *infra*.
2. Billings (1847)—North Tower only, vol. iii. pl. ii.
3. David Roberts—Grouping of the two western and the central towers; the top windows of the north-west tower; also the set-offs of buttresses of south-west tower.
4. Hearne's Engraving in 1783—from south-west, reproduced in Mr Millar's article on the Bishop's Castle, *infra*.
5. Macgeorge—Frontispiece, Views of Towers looking north-west, by Leitch in 1835.
6. Walcott—Ground Plan, p. 178.
7. "Plans and Elevations"—From west, pl. iii.; Ground Plan, pl. iv.
8. "Glasghu Facies"—From south-west, in 1650, p. 73; from south-east, Slezer's view in 1790, p. 243, reproduced from Slezer's plate in "The Bishop's Castle," *infra*; from west, Morrison's view in 1747, p. 276; from south-west, in 1768, p. 65; from south-west, in 1844, p. 722; Ground Plan, p. 251.



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL

them dissimilar in shape and size. Uniformity was not required for the proper balance of the buildings. As Mr Ruskin remarks—

“Every successive architect, employed upon a great work, built the pieces he added in his own way, utterly regardless of the style adopted by his predecessors. And if two towers were raised in nominal correspondence at the sides of a cathedral front, one was nearly sure to be different from the other, and in each the style at the top to be different from the style at the bottom.”

Before describing these two towers, attention must be called to the date of their erection. Their chief interest and value depended upon their antiquity. On this subject much ignorance prevailed. A local committee constituted “to preserve and complete the cathedral” in 1836—that consisted of Lord Provost Wm. Mills, Bailies Small, Bain, Fleming, Paul, Dunlop, and Craig, Dean of Guild Brown, Deacon-Convener Neilson, City Treasurer Brock, Master of Works Hutchison, and City Chamberlain Strang, with fifty-five other worthy and well-meaning individuals, stated in their report, in “Plans and Elevations, &c.,” that these towers were “recent erections that obscure and deform the west elevation.” Under this impression they wished them pulled down, and replaced by two towers according to a plan furnished to them by an Edinburgh architect, Mr Graham Gillespie.

The truth is that these towers were venerable in their antiquity. The date of their erection was immediately after the completion of the nave and aisles, if not at the same time. Of this there was evidence in the north-west tower. To Mr Honeyman we are indebted for calling attention to this fact. In “Old Glasgow” Mr Macgeorge writes as follows (p. 104):—

“A piece of real evidence has been communicated to me by Mr Honeyman. ‘I was told,’ he writes me, ‘by one who examined it at the time, that the jambs of the west window of the north aisle, which was covered up by the tower, were found, when exposed, to be quite fresh. *There was no chase cut for glazing*, and evidently the window had never been used before the erection of the tower.’”

This shows that probably the north-west tower was part of the original design, or if not, that its erection was resolved on before the north aisle was completed, and it was built before the west window of the north aisle required to be glazed. The south-west tower was most probably of the same date.

The north-west tower can be considered first. It was a perfect square, 32 feet by 32 feet, and 21 feet inside measurement. Its walls were 118 feet high, and the spire to the cross was 26 feet high, making a total of 144 feet. There

was one buttress on each of its three sides, each buttress being 24 feet high. On the lower storey, there were two pointed windows on the west side, two on the south side, but none on the north side. On the top stage or storey, each of the four faces had larger and richer pointed double windows. A clock face had been placed, in late years, on the window of the west side. Inside, the tower was groined.

The imposing effect of this tower, 118 feet up to the spire, can be judged from the fact that the height of the nave is 85 feet, thus giving a difference of 33 feet. The eye can judge of its effect and importance from the views reproduced in the present volume, from the engraving by Billings, from the larger one given by Collie, and from the more complete one in "Plans and Elevations."

In the engraving by Billings, taken in 1847, when the other tower had been pulled down, we see the north-west tower only, with a small square opening on the south side, near the top of the buttress, and two other small openings higher up, in the centre of the same south side. This tower was used as the bell-tower of the Cathedral until the stone central tower was built. M'Ure, who died in 1747, states (p. 689) that within this steeple there were two large bells. The larger one, 11 feet 4½ inches in circumference, was rung every day at 8 A.M.; and the lesser one, 8 feet 10½ inches in circumference, was rung every night at 10 o'clock.

In the *Archæological Journal* for December 1892, p. 331, an article by Mr Joseph Bain throws considerable light upon these two bells.

"Two fabrications," he says (*i.e.*, the alleged gift of the great bell by Marcus Knox, a merchant in Glasgow, and the casting in Holland), "have passed current for more than 150 years. The gift by Knox is due to the fertile imagination of John M'Ure, the first historian of Glasgow. M'Ure, who published his book in 1736, when describing the Cathedral and its western tower or campanile (demolished by an act of vandalism about fifty years ago), says there were then two large bells in that tower, 'the larger one gifted by Marcus Knox, merchant in Glasgow, at the Reformation,' a statement repeated by every city historian since his day. There is no authority for this assertion in the Council records of the city of Glasgow, which are extant, tolerably complete, from the year 1581.

"There is, on the other hand, written evidence, founding the strongest presumption, that the two bells in the western tower were given by Archbishop Dunbar, the predecessor of Archbishop Betoun. In his will, confirmed on 30th May, 1548, and now in the General Register House, Edinburgh, he directed his executors to pay a bell-founder (whose name is somewhat uncertain, but reads like 'Amis') for making and founding two bells, their carriage, hanging, and other expenses (as in his contract with the workman), the sum of £196, 1s. 1d., and for the repair of the campanile (the western tower) in which they were to

be hung, £106, 13s. 4d. One of his executors, James Houston, was Sub-Dean of Glasgow, and there is no doubt he fulfilled the Archbishop's directions as to the bells and tower. Houston died in 1551. This bell had been cracked or damaged in 1593-94, and was re-cast by Arthur Allan at that date.¹

"The Council minutes show that there was, at this very date, a burgess of Glasgow named Marcus Knox, who was chosen treasurer (out of eight candidates), on 1st June, 1596. Here, then, is the germ of his mythical gift. In his capacity of town treasurer he would be authorised to pay, and no doubt paid, the bell-founder, Allan, the balance due to him on 4th November that year; and tradition, rolling on like a snowball, has finally credited him with paying the expense *out of his own funds*, thus depriving the real donor, Archbishop Dunbar, of the merit due to his munificence."²

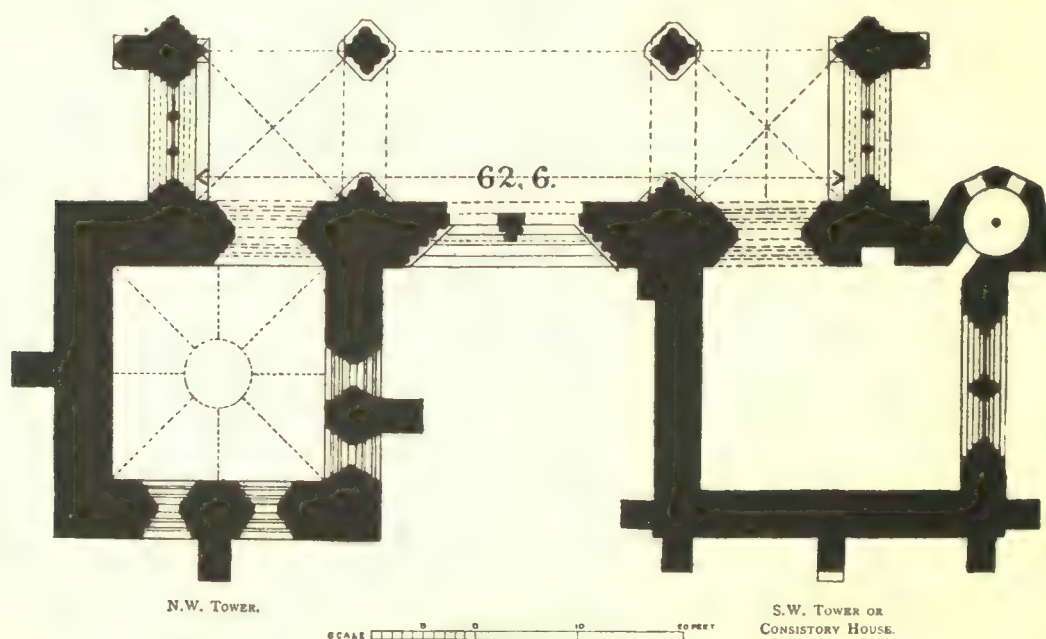
The corresponding tower on the south-west now claims our attention. It was separated by the space of 27 feet from the north tower. The dimensions of this tower show it to have been 34 feet from north to south, and 32 feet from west to east in external measurement, and internally 25 feet by 22 feet. It was a more important building than its fellow, and of rather larger size, or two feet longer. On the west façade it had three buttresses, and one on the angle of the north end of the east side. At the south-east angle there was an important projection, a combination of buttress and circular staircase, in form half an octagon, with an entrance door to the stair on the east angle, and two chinks to light the stair. On the south side, the building was lighted by a large double-pointed window. These features can be best seen and understood by reference to Collie's ground plan (see next page).

The height of this building was 70 feet—*i.e.*, the walls 54 feet, and the two gables 16 feet. Though shorter by 74 feet than the north tower, there are many reasons for supposing that it was meant to be as important, if not a more important tower. These reasons are :—(1) The buttresses were the same height as those on the other tower; (2) On the west side there were three buttresses,

¹ See *ante*, p. 149.

² M'Ure's statement was perpetuated at a later day on the bell itself. In 1789 the bell was again cracked, and on its re-founding in 1790 it was made to bear the following inscription: "In the year of grace MCCCCCLXXXIII, Marcus Knox, a merchant zealous for the interest of the Reformed religion, caused me to be fabricated in Holland for the use of his fellow-citizens of Glasgow, and placed with solemnity in the tower of their Cathedral. My function was announced by the impress on my bosom, *Me audito venias doctrinam sanctam ut discas*, and I was taught to proclaim the hours of unheeded time. 195 years had I sounded these awful warnings when I was broken by the hands of inconsiderate and unskilful men. In the year 1790 I was cast into the furnace, re-founded at London, and returned to my sacred vocation. Reader, thou also shalt know a resurrection. May it be unto eternal life. Thomas Mears, *fecit*. London, 1790." This bell, again cracked, now lies in the cathedral chapter-house. A drawing of it forms the initial on page 176, *supra*. It was replaced in 1896 by a new bell, the gift of John Garraway, Esq., manufacturer in Glasgow.

whilst the other tower had only one on the west side ; (3) The stair in the strong projecting buttress, and giving access to the upper stage, gives reason to believe that additional height was intended ; (4) Its wall was stronger than that of the north tower, as it had windows only on the south side, and the north tower had windows on both the south and west sides ; (5) The south tower was usually more important than the north one, as the south aisle was more important than the north aisle ; (6) The west wall was nine feet thick, and the north and south walls ten feet thick ; though the walls of the north tower were eleven feet thick.



Glasgow Cathedral Towers.

Its second stage or floor was lighted by a double English window on the south gable, somewhat similar to the windows below it. A third stage or floor, just above the top of the two buttresses, was lighted by two square-headed windows ; and in the gable, which was corbie-stepped, there were two smaller square-headed windows. This building, as already said, was probably built about the same time as the north tower. But M'Ure, who was a very indifferent antiquarian, says (p. 245) : "This building was erected, it is believed, a short time before the Reformation." From the mouldings of the windows on the south gable, so accurately drawn by Collie, the tower can be seen to have been built

circa 1350. Mr Collie's drawing, Plate II., gives an excellent view of this tower, and shows the west gable with its four tiers of windows, the corbie-stepped gable, and the four sides of the half-octagon staircase, with its two squints or stair-lights. All this is still better shown in Plate IV., which also enables us to see the proportions between this building and the rest of the Cathedral. The same features may be seen in the photogravure plate which accompanies the present paper.

Another mistake may be here pointed out. M'Ure, who could never have been at the pains of measuring either of these towers, coolly states (p. 688) that the church "hath a session house on the north side, and a consistorial house on the south side thereof—the length of each being 30 feet and 50 feet wide."

This south tower or building is best known as the consistory house. In old records it was called the library house of the Cathedral; and the books may have been kept in one of the upper floors. It was popularly known as the "guttie tower."

Its chief interest lies in the fact that it was the place in which the Bishops held their ecclesiastical courts, and where the Diocesan records were kept.

Bishop Cameron (1426–46) arranged that Commissariat Courts of Glasgow, Hamilton, and Campsie should be held three times a week, *i.e.*, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the consistorial house. The court-room was 25 feet long and 22 feet wide. In the *Liber Protocolorum*, published by the Grampian Club as part of the volume of *Diocesan Registers*, which contains ancient records from 1499 to 1513, are entries of various transactions gone through in the consistory house. The first of these entries was in the year 1505, and is an instrument narrating that "Quintin Mortoun, citizen of Glasgow, cessioner and assignee to all the goods of Katherine Wryght, compeared in presence of Mr John Sprewle, commissary, and Mr David Coningham, official general of Glasgow, sitting as Judges in the consistory of the Metropolitan Church, and protested and alleged that all the said goods which fell to him by the said Katherine, ought to belong to himself in full right, because he gave the said goods out of his own, in dowry to the said Katherine, his spouse, who had died within a year after the completion of their marriage; and accordingly they ought to be wholly converted to his own use and to belong to none else. Done in the said consistory, about eleven o'clock A.M., 8th April, 1505."

Another document, dated 13th May 1510, shows that Mr Andrew Birkmyre, a vicar of the church, was convicted of having used reproachful language to

Mr Martin Rede, the chancellor and official of the Diocese, sitting in court in the consistory house. The Archbishop ordered the offender to ask pardon on his knees on the floor of the consistory house, both of the official, and of himself as representing the Church ("Diocesan Registers," pp. 15, 471, 473).

During the troublous times of the Reformation and following years, the west end and other parts of the fabric required repairs. The minutes of the Town Council towards the end of the 16th, and the beginning of the 17th



Glasgow Cathedral with Western Towers as they appeared from the Merchant Park Cemetery in 1833.

(Frontispiece to M'ellan's "*Glasgow Cathedral*.")

century, show efforts made in this direction, and attest that the north-west tower and the consistory house, as well as the choir and nave, have shared their care. Sir James Marwick's volume of extracts shows, under date 21st August 1574, that the Provost, Bailies, and Council, with the deacons of the crafts and divers other honest men of the town, met in the council-house, to take into consideration the great decay and ruin caused by taking away the lead, slate, and other material, &c., &c. (See p. 135, *supra*.)

What was done to the north-west tower about sixty-four years after the Reformation is found in a minute under date 15th May, 1624 :—"The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain that the laich steeple of the Cathedral be theiked with lead."

The south-west tower required a more extensive repair. A minute, under date 5th April 1628, states that the Provost, Bailies, and Council have arranged and agreed that James Colquhoun, wright, and John Boyd, mason, build and repair the decayed parts of the library house of the Cathedral, put the roof thereon, geist and loft the same, and theik the same with lead, and do all things necessary thereto for 3100 merks. (See *supra*, p. 153.)

The wretched state of dilapidation into which its custodians had permitted the Cathedral to fall forms a sad contrast to the reverential care bestowed previously on the noble edifice. An instrument is printed in the *Diocesan Registers* (p. 309) showing a formal call, made on 11th January 1504, by Mr David Cunningham, the Archbishop's vicar-general, to Mr John Gibson, rector of Renfrew, and master of work of the church of St Mungo, to lay out money on the "small and minute matters necessary, both inside and outside" the fabric, as his predecessors, masters of the said work, were in the practice of doing.

A view of the building as it was in 1836, when both towers were standing and in good repair, forms the frontispiece of M'Lellan's "Glasgow Cathedral," and is here reproduced.

In M'Ure's "Glasghu Facies," Dr Gordon, in a note (p. 65), remarks that "the flat above (the consistory house) was fitted up as a store for different official papers connected with the court, and an immense mass of documents had collected uncared for by any one. Externally it was nothing but a room full of paper-rubbish, exposed to the weather and covered with the droppings of crows and pigeons." Two letters are printed by him bearing on this subject. The first was written to the *Glasgow Herald* in 1850 by Gabriel Neil, a Glasgow manufacturer, editor of some of the works of Zachary Boyd, and a member of the Council of the Glasgow Archæological Society :—

"THE OLD DOCUMENTS IN THE LATE CONSISTORY HOUSE.

"SIR,—In your paper of yesterday you put the following question : 'By the way, what has become of the wreck of those old documents that accumulated in the consistory house since the dates of the Bishops?' Perhaps I may be able to tender some scrap of information as to the fate of the 'wreck.'

About the time when the consistory house was doomed to destruction, I one evening met with a friend who, from his personal observation the previous day, told me that what were considered the valuable documents connected with the consistory court had been carried off, and that the rest were being condemned to the flames; but that many people were taking away numbers of them. Having a species of literary avidity to share in part of the spoil, I went next morning as early as seven o'clock to the consistory house, the whole of the lower part or ground floor of which I found filled with a heavy, dark brown smoke, where certainly conflagration was making its way—little tufts of loose paper flaming up here and there—but the great mass smouldering; for sorry indeed did the documents appear to wish to become defunct, even by the help of two stout labourers stirring them up with long sticks. Vexed at what I deemed the recklessness of such proceedings, and with a desire to secure even yet a few, I ventured, under a feeling next to suffocation, knee-deep among the mass, and, picking up parcels, I thought, might contain a subject or two for future use, was making my exit: however, I was detained under instructions the labourers had received, that no more papers were to be taken away. But, never mind how it was or through what agency, whether *per fas aut nefas*, I got released, possessed of a goodly number of documents, which, arranging into a portable bundle on a grave-stone, I departed, very down in the mouth and afflicted to witness this scandalous *auto-da-fe* and last solemn obsequies of what might have supplied food to many local antiquarian pens, and contributions to newspaper columns for generations to come. On a leisurely examination of the contents of my random bundle, I discovered them to consist of such as the following:—Many loose papers in strips, which, from having been tossed about, had lost their relationship to their parent subjects, on which were written names and genealogies not a few—these most likely bearing reference to cases before the consistory court; several leaves of a sermon, in a fine, small, clear handwriting, of some two centuries ago; stanzas of poetry; a beautifully engraved and partly written official document in the Danish language, with two seals, dated May 1711; bills of exchange and bills of lading, and mercantile letters—all connected with our trade to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, prior to and about the date of the Union of our Kingdom with England. . . . I regret, Mr Editor, that my memory does not serve me in giving you further details of the foregoing documents, having put them long since into the hands of our late worthy and intelligent townsman, Mr Robert Stewart, when compiling his 'Notices of Glasgow in Former Times,' for any use he could make of them; but from the sample, you may judge how much curious and interesting matter we have lost by the conflagration of many hundredweights of stock.

"I am, SIR,

"Yours, &c.,

"GABRIEL NEIL.

"GLASGOW, 20th Jany., 1850."

Further information on the subject is given in the following letter from the Commissary Clerk of Lanarkshire in 1850 :—

“ *To the Editor of the ‘Glasgow Herald.’* ¹

“ GLASGOW, 29th Jany., 1850.

“ SIR,—I observe from the Report of the Proceedings of the Dean of Guild Court, in your paper of the 28th January, that a desire is expressed to know what became of the Records of the ancient and extensive Commissariat of Glasgow, which I can explain. In March 1817, I was, by a commission from the Crown, appointed Clerk to the Commissariat of Glasgow, which I held till January 1824, when, in virtue of the Act of the 4th of King George IV., cap. 97 (which abolished that and other two small commissariats in the county), I became clerk of the newly-formed Commissariat of *Lanarkshire*, and, in obedience to that Act, I sometime afterwards sent to the General Register House, in Edinburgh, the whole papers and deeds of every description connected with the late Commissariat of Glasgow—where, I presume, they may be seen, on application to the proper authorities.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ C. D. DONALD,

“ *Commissariat Clerk of Lanarkshire.*”

Owing to the idea which seems to have prevailed that these towers were not of any great antiquity, and also to the fact that they extended beyond the line of the west façade, and somewhat cramped the west door and window, a scheme was set on foot for their destruction.² “Both buildings,” as Macgeorge remarks (p. 101), “apart from their antiquity, were valuable as adding greatly to the beauty of the Cathedral, and the tower was really essential to the proper balance of the structure; yet, incredible as it may appear, these two interesting and important parts of the Cathedral, both at the time in the most perfect state of preservation, were, within the last forty years, pulled down by order of Her Majesty’s First Commissioner of Works, in the course of certain operations professing to have for their object the improvement and restoration of the Cathedral!”

A folio consisting of sixteen pages of text and lithographs, printed in 1836, by James Hedderwick & Son, Glasgow, and entitled, “Plans and Elevations of

¹ Gordon, “Glasghu Facies,” p. 67.

² This was not the first scheme for destroying at least the north-west tower. For a similar proposal in the year 1587, see the quotation from the Kirk Session Records in footnote, p. 140 of the present volume.

the proposed Restorations and Additions to the Cathedral of Glasgow: with an Explanatory Address by the Local Committee," explains what was proposed by this Committee. The proposed *restoration* was the *pulling down*, and the *addition* was the *taking away* the towers. "Their want of taste," says Mr Macgeorge, "was only equalled by their want of knowledge, and among them were the Lord Provost and magistrates of the city. . . . The late Mr M'Lellan, who wrote an account of the Cathedral, and who was one of those who instigated the act of vandalism, sought to excuse the removal of the tower on the ground that it was of a date later than the nave; yet he himself ascribes it to the time of Bishop Bondington—that is, to the 13th century—a period sufficiently remote surely to have saved it from the profane hands of modern empiries."¹

The south-west tower or consistory house was removed first. We do not find any date given for this destruction, except by Walcott (p. 180), who makes a great mistake in saying, "A north-west tower, and consistory court being the base of another on the south, were destroyed in 1836." The south-west tower was not then pulled down, and an engraving of it was published in the "Plans, &c.," in 1836. It remained over 1844, as may be seen in a woodcut of that date in Gordon's "Glasghu Facies" (quoted from Wade), p. 722, and reproduced in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," p. 441. Dr Gordon says it was taken down in 1845 (p. 245); but the removal took place in 1846. Billings' engravings of Glasgow Cathedral were made in 1847-48, and the south-west view, in Pl. ii., bearing the date 1847, is without the consistory house. In his text he says, "*The Consistory House has been removed. The interior of the nave and roof are undergoing repair, and it is understood that the western entrance is to be repaired, the gallery of the choir removed, and the belfry taken down*" (p. 7). This engraving is the only one we have seen that gives only the north tower.

In 1848 the north tower was also pulled down. The date 1854 is incorrectly given in the "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland," ii. p. 157; also erroneously in a note by Dr Gordon, p. 694. Billings' work was published 1845-52, and his remark here quoted was made after the engraving of the north tower, made in 1847. He says (p. 9):—

"When we arrive at the west front of the Cathedral our joy is stayed, for destruction is marked there, and against this act we do emphatically protest. *The one western tower, represented in our view, has disappeared*, and given place to a repetition of the modern pinnacle and ornaments of the south-west

¹ Macgeorge, pp. 101-102.

angle, for the mere sake of vulgar uniformity. Glasgow originally had the commencement of two west towers, and twenty years back saw both: one in the shape of a house at the south-west angle, and the other as we have represented it. The first was quietly removed as an excrescence; and as a consequence the second followed it, because it looked odd; and in addition to this it was stated that the tower was not ornamental enough, and that it had been attached to the previously built nave, because one of the buttresses of that portion of the building appeared within it."

It must interest us to know what became of the old material when this tower was destroyed. "In the upper part of the tower were some curious grotesque sculptures; these are now lying in the crypt below the chapter house" (Macgeorge, p. 101). He means in the chapter house below the sacristy.

The excuses given for the destruction were—(1) That the tower was of a date later than the nave; (2) That both were ugly excrescences; (3) That they injured the façade of the west front, &c. A remonstrance was got up against the removal of the north-west tower, in the form of a memorial to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Glasgow. The memorial was signed by ten architects and by other citizens. It is printed in the appendix to Mr Honeyman's pamphlet, "The Age of Glasgow Cathedral," pp. 23, 24, taken from the *Scottish Reformer's Gazette* of 26th August, 1848. We give the document, as it is not without its importance:—

"TO THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND TOWN COUNCIL
OF GLASGOW.

"The memorial and petition of the undersigned citizens,

"RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

"That the memorialists have learned, with regret, that it is the intention of Government to demolish the north-west tower of the Glasgow Cathedral, and they are induced to solicit the Magistrates' and Council's influence to avert this, for the following among other reasons:—

"(1) The tower is one of the ancient landmarks of Glasgow; it is venerable for its antiquity, and it is hallowed by early associations and recollections to many of the citizens, who cannot see this familiar object of their early days destroyed without making an earnest appeal to the guardians of the city for its protection. The tower is considered by many persons to be the most ancient part of the building, and that it is of a form and in a situation characteristic of the ancient Scottish Cathedral. Mr Wade, a competent authority, in his volume on ancient and modern Glasgow, thus

describes it :—‘The north-west tower is of a much plainer character. In the upper part of the tower the antiquary may treat himself with some curious grotesque sculpture, coeval, no doubt, with the most ancient portion of the fabric;’ and the same author writes that a second and corresponding tower was evidently intended.

“(2) The tower forms a portion of the Cathedral as it was in the days of your predecessors in office, and it therefore becomes your duty, as guardians of the city, to preserve it, as it was intrusted to you, in all its integrity.

“(3) Should the tower be removed, the western front, if completed on the north as it is now on the south, will have a low and diminutive character. It is therefore imperative to have a commanding feature in that part of the elevation; and while the memorialists conceive that the western tower, raised to its former height, would fully answer this purpose, it would be less expensive than any other that could be raised to be equally effective.

“(4) While your memorialists highly approve of the judicious renovation of Glasgow Cathedral, they would suggest that further alterations be avoided as much as possible, and the substitution of modern for the ancient architecture of the building, except where required by decay, be prevented.

“(5) That in such a matter of public interest, in which the character of the city is implicated, a meeting of the citizens be called by the Lord Provost and magistrates, to ascertain public opinion on the subject, and to have it fully discussed. The memorialists, therefore, respectfully pray that you will interpose your influence with the Government to adopt such other measures as to you shall appear most expedient, for preventing the demolition, and for preserving in its integrity, the ancient tower now brought under your consideration.”

Not much information has been got from those who were employed in pulling down the north-west tower. A man of the name of John M'Cormack, who lived at 5 Balmano Street, was one of those so employed. Another of the name of William Begg, now living, was employed as a mason in repairing the wall after the removal of the tower. But the most information has been got through the kindness of Mr William Kennedy, Clerk of Works, &c. He wrote on 14th March, 1890, as follows :—

“In reference to my promise to obtain some information regarding the north-west tower, I beg to state that I have twice seen the party I spoke of—William Begg—who worked as a mason at the restoration of the Cathedral, fully forty years ago. On my first visit to W. Begg, he could not give me much information, as he said he and the other masons had been mainly employed in rebuilding and piecing-up, and, so far as he remembered, the towers were taken down by labourers; and besides, he had not paid any particular attention to the construction of the towers, though the general impression among the masons was that they were more modern than the other


parts of the Cathedral. He told me, however, that he was working at the Cathedral at the time of the Queen's visit (14th August 1849), and that the towers were cleared away before that time.

"Again, to-day, I visited W. Begg, taking with me Collie's Engravings, and extracts from M'Lellan's 'Essay on Glasgow Cathedral,' and Fairbairn's 'Relics of Ancient Architecture, &c., in Glasgow,' in the hope that they might refresh his memory a little. He could not remember anything about the groining spoken of by M'Lellan. He remembered quite well going into the tower by a small door in the west end of the north triforium, and he is almost certain that there was a similar doorway below, at the west end of the north aisle, into the ground floor of the tower. He thinks that the upper part was reached by ladders, but he has no recollection of having to go up through the circular opening in the groined roofing, spoken of by M'Lellan, and shown by Collie. He thinks the tower had been taken down, when he went to the Cathedral, to about the string course below the upper window, and I think it is very likely that the groining would be taken down before commencing with the walls.

"From what W. Begg said—from the extract from Fairbairn's book, which was published in 1849—and from what Pagan says, speaking in 1851, of the west tower and consistory house, having 'been removed within the last four years,' p. 77, I think there is no doubt it was removed between 1847 and 1849.

"There is nothing to indicate the position of the groining in the north-west tower, except what M'Lellan says about its being at about a third of the height of the tower; but I think that the fact that the buttresses, on the three open sides of the tower, terminated at a little above the third of the height, corroborates M'Lellan's statement to some extent. They would be carried up sufficiently high to assist in resisting the thrust of the groins, and then stopped, as shown. Probably there was a floor at the level of the triforium, and the groining formed the ceiling to this room. The circular opening in the centre must have been large enough to allow of the bell, which was nearly three feet in diameter, being hoisted through it.

"I am inclined to think that most of the dressed stone, at least, would be used in building up the buttresses, &c.

"W. Begg did not know whether any of the old stones now in the chapter-house were from the old tower. I have examined them, and I believe there is a possibility of one or two of them at least having belonged to it. I refer to a stone which has a figure, with a scroll in front, sculptured on it. M'Lellan speaks of the ribs of groining being on 'corbels carved into the semblance of human figures.' This stone has been built into an inner angle—square below—and the rough outline of a rib can be traced yet by the lime marks on the top. There is another stone exactly similar to this, except in the head-dress of the figure. These two stones have evidently been worked by the same mason; the same mark  is on each, on the circular plinth above the heads of the figures. The stone of which they are made appears to be the

same as that with which the buttresses, against which the tower stood, are faced up; and I have no doubt the stone from the tower would be used for this purpose. It is finer in the grain than most of the stone that was used in restoring the other parts of the Cathedral. These two stones are just what I would expect—I mean in shape—under the ribs of such a groining as M'Lellan speaks of."

A few days later, *i.e.* on 18th March, Mr Kennedy wrote:—

"I have got in the chapter-house another corbel similar to the other two, except that the carving represents foliage. This stone is of the same shape as the other two, and has been used for the same purpose evidently. It has the same moulding above the carvings, and has the same mason's mark on the plinth."

The destruction of these towers has always been a subject of regret to antiquarians and to persons of taste. Mr Billings condemned the removal as an act of barbarism. The architects of Glasgow petitioned against the destruction, and Dr Wilson, after referring to "the rich groining springing from large half-figures of angels, bearing shields and scrolls, of the west tower," observes, truly, that its removal "for the purpose of restoring the west front to a uniformity, but poorly repays the idea of size and elevation formerly conveyed by the contrast between the central and west towers."—"Pre-Historic Annals," ii. p. 428.

Mr Billings adds (p. 9)—

"In the year 1833, public attention was called to the Cathedral by Archibald M'Lellan, Esq., who, at his own cost, produced an extended essay, urging the necessity of restoration. His work was the precursor of a committee, having the Lord Provost at the head, with Dr Clelland as secretary, and the author of the preceding movement appearing modestly at the tail. This movement produced a second work, in which appeared restored elevations, with two elaborately ornamented western towers. A large fund was raised, a Government grant secured for these restored designs by Mr Graham, and—what followed all the enthusiasm of the committee? A change of architects, and the utter disappearance of the feature it was their main object to preserve."

The only comforting reflection upon the whole proceeding is that the alterations and towers of Mr Graham were never gone on with. His proposed alterations of the transepts would have spoilt the outline and the proportions of the whole Cathedral, as may be seen in the ground plan of "Plans and Elevations," Pl. iii. His western towers were thin and ugly, of a kind peculiar to the age before Pointed architecture was fully understood.

The lesson of the well-known parable is reversed in the case before us. "Which of you, having a mind to build a tower, doth not first sit down and reckon the charges that are necessary: lest after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that see it begin to mock him, saying: 'This man began to build, and was not able to finish'" (Luke xiv. 28-30). In this instance, the men who formed the committee, and who urged the removal of the towers, did not first sit down and reckon the charges that would hereafter be brought against them for an ill-advised step, injurious to the Cathedral, and offensive to all persons of good taste. And all who now see the grand old building, shorn of its Cathedral feature and made like a large parish church, mock and laugh at the action of the local committee, saying: "These men had two towers, and they went and pulled them both down!"



West Door of Nave in 1897.

THE HALL OF THE VICARS CHORAL.¹

BY HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.



Boss of Vaulting in Blacader's Aisle.

AGAINST the outside of the north wall of the Cathedral of Glasgow is a low building, now roofed with flags. It stands between the two buttresses at the west end of the north aisle of the choir. To a stranger or a casual observer it would seem to be an erection of no great age, and put up to serve the purpose of a temporary outbuilding. To those acquainted with the various parts of the church, it is and has for long been a puzzle.

A crude surmise or guess was made by Mr Archibald M'Lellan in his "Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow," who speaks of it as a ruinous building supposed to have been a dormitory. This supposition has been reproduced by Mr J. Collie in his "Plans, Elevations, etc., of the Cathedral of Glasgow," p. 3. Allusion is made to this building in the article "A Mediæval Architect," by Mr Macgregor Chalmers in *Scots Lore*, 1895 (p. 93), where he says: "The low walls of an unfinished thirteenth century building, to the east of the north transept, were used for the first time a few years ago for the existing brick and stone tool house." That it was not meant as the sub-structure of a north transept, to correspond with what was contemplated for the south side, is abundantly clear from the fact that it is east of where a north transept would be

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of Glasgow Archæological Society, 19th December 1895, and was printed in the Society's *Transactions*. It is reproduced with the kind consent of the Council of the Society.

placed ; and that it was meant to be a loftier building than its present height is clear from the numerous and massive buttresses at its sides and angles.¹

The object of the present paper is an endeavour to show that the building in question was a hall meant for the use of the vicars choral ; and that it is the hall spoken of in old documents as *aula vicariorum chori*.

There were three classes of ecclesiastics to whom the term vicar was applied. First, there were vicars who served the churches belonging to the religious houses, who were presented by the abbots and priors. They were also called curates, *curati* (A 25, 53).² Disputes arose sometimes concerning the appointing of vicars in parishes held by the clergy, whether regular or secular, which took the shape of a question of the amount of stipend, the clerical patron and the parochial vicar of that day standing in the relation to each other which the heritor and the minister in Scotland now hold.

A second class of vicars was that of the vicars residential, also called vicars pensioners. Sometimes they were called "*procuratores, stallarii, or capellani*" (A 316, 352, 346, 343). The statutes "*De instituendis vicariis de residentia*" are given in the "*Registrum*" (A 171), where it is laid down that each canon was to provide a suitable vicar (A 212, 218, 220). These vicars acted as assistants to the canons in the cathedral, and also in their parish churches. In the cathedral they seem to have used the stalls of the canons they represented in their absence (A 328, 443), which would, in most cases, be nine months in the year ; because, though the five principal canons had to reside six months in the year, the twenty-seven others were only bound to a three months' residence (A 172, 352). As instances of these vicars being also employed in work outside the cathedral, documents show that E. Calderwood was vicar pensioner of the church of Cambuslang, under its canon, and received annually twenty merks and a croft (A 408) ; and that Wm. Turner was vicar pensioner of the church of Menar (Peebles), under Alex. Dick, Archdeacon of Glasgow, with a pension of twenty-four

¹ See Plan of Cathedral, p. 236, also description of the architecture of this building in Mr Honeyman's article, p. 238, *ante*.

² References in this article to old documents in the "*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*" will be marked A, followed by the page, and references to the "*Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*" will be marked B.

merks and a toft and croft (A 581). These vicars held their office for life (A 208, 328).

The third class of vicars were the vicars choral, who had to furnish the musical services at the cathedral. These services were conducted by the canon precentor, who was one of the chief dignitaries of the chapter. He was the rector of Kilbride, and had to reside at the cathedral six months in the year. His manse and garden were on the north side of the cathedral. The sub-precentor had the charge of the music in the absence of the precentor. In the chapter deeds he is called "Glasgow 2^{do}." He was prebendary of Ancrum, and had his manse on the north side of the cathedral, to the north of the bishop's castle, and north of the garden of the precentor, and to the east of the garden of the bishop's vicar, who was called "Glasgow 1^{mo}" (A 434).

The vicars choral were formed into a college by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, 1455-1473 (A 616). He built for them the accommodation they required, on the north side of the church, on the spot formerly known as "the place of the vicars," and now known as the vicars alleys. The earliest instrument alluding to their dwelling in 1508 speaks of the tenement as lying on the north side of the church of Glasgow between the great garden of the archbishop and the place of the vicars (A 473; B 247). They were twelve in number as instituted by the bishop, but seem to have increased to eighteen in 1508. Their names are given under that date (B 247) as Domini John Mowsfald, Thos. Forsyth, Wm. Burel, John Scot, John Heriot, Robt. Crechtoun, Thos. Blak, Lau. Dikkesson, Robt. Brady, Thos. Smith, Alex. Panter, Geo. Cameron, Robt. Duranse, And. Waweb, John Cokburn, Colin Watson, and Magistri Wm. Broune, and Malcolm Flemyng. Of the form and nature of their apartments there is no account. As they were a college they may have had a collegiate dwelling, with a couple of rooms for each individual. In one document a contrast is drawn between "Tenementum" and "Cameram" (A 495), but in another their dwelling was called "Mansio" and "Camera" (A 473). They kept a common table, as seen in a document of 10th October 1556, whereby the Archbishop James confirmed the gift of the perpetual vicarage of Dalziel made by the dean and chapter, *mensæ communi vicariorum chori, ad effectum in una communi tabula et mensa commensaliter vivere valeant*: reserving a pension of ten pounds to the acting vicar, with a toft, croft, garden, and house (A 581). This common table is further

elucidated from an instrument showing that there was a lawsuit in 1510 between Sir Robt. Clerk, sub-precentor, and the vicars of the choir respecting some utensils and vessels that had been bequeathed to them by the late Archdeacon of Glasgow for the use of their common table (B 386).

On the same north side of the church, between the archbishop's garden on the west and the place of the vicars on the east, there was some land and a garden belonging to them. It was let in 1491 to Mr Michael Fleming, prebendary of Ancrum. The said canon bound himself to build, within three years, in the front of this land *unam domum cum duabus roltis deorsum, et cameris desuper tegulis tectis, in sufficiente et honesta forma* (A 473). This house was let in 1508 to Mr James Stewart, prebendary of Ancrum (B 247).

Though the homes of these vicars were on the north side of the cathedral, as again seen in the document regarding Alex. Panter, vicar of the choir, where the words are used *in camera sua in loco vicariorum de Glasgw* (B 457), they had some property in other spots, given to them by benefactors to the church. A tenement on the north side of the Raton Row belonged to them (B 489). A curious document, of the date 1477, refers to this tenement, and has a special interest as being a specimen of the vernacular language of the period. It is printed in A 458; also in Marwick's "Charters and Documents," part ii. p. 66; and again in M'George's "Old Glasgow," p. 61. From this document it appears that the vicars of the choir had the right to a ground annual from this tenement. The annual for some time had not been paid, and the vicars were unable to recover it from the property in consequence of the tenement having fallen into a dilapidated state. The proprietor had died, and his heirs having failed to pay the arrears, the vicars took proceedings to obtain possession of the ground. A trial took place before John Stewart, provost, and Jas. Stewart and John Robinson, bailies; and the result was that the vicars were invested in the absolute property of the tenement. This tenement some thirty-five years later, in 1513, was let by the vicars, with the consent of the dean and chapter, to Mr Geo. Ker (B 489). They had also some tenements on the south side of the Drygate, and west of the house of Mr Thos. Muirhead, rector of Govan (B. 365). A house belonging to them was let by them, in 1508, to Patrick Graham, Rector of Killerne, for 24s. a year (B 410); and some land belonging to them was let to Janet Purvians (B 86).

The duties of the vicars choral were to serve and sing in the choir of Glasgow. An instrument, of date 12th June 1511, relates that Sir Thos. Coningham received the appointment of chaplain of the chapel of St Mary in the lower church, and took the oath, in presence of the dean and other members of the chapter, that he would serve and sing in the choir of Glasgow with the other choristers (B 411). Among their other duties may be mentioned that they were to celebrate mass thrice a week for the soul of Michael Fleming, canon, and to keep one anniversary; for the first of which services the canon left an annual income of 5 merks 4s. 8d., and for the anniversary 20s. (A 463). In the year 1430 it was arranged that the vicars should celebrate daily on the high altar, *in magno altare de requie*, a mass for all the deceased bishops (A i. xxxii.).

Their places in the choir were arranged in this manner: "The canons in residence, during the time of their residence and of divine service, will take their places on each side in the higher and more dignified seats, with the exception of the chancellor and treasurer, who will take the return stalls; and the vicars will take the stalls immediately below the canons on each side of the choir" (A 353). During the singing the cantors grouped themselves at the lectern in the choir (A 356).

A document, of date 1506, shows that the vicars of the choir took an oath, in the presence of the dean and chapter, that they would perform their duties faithfully (B 131).

For the musical services of the church, in addition to the vicars choral, there were some boy choristers. Bishop John arranged, in 1427, that the prebendary of Strathblane, who was to be a cleric *cantu bene et notabiliter instructus*, was to pay to four boys for singing in the cathedral 16 merks, *i.e.*, to each boy 4 merks a year, at the four terms in the year, as the canons paid their stallars. The said prebendary was, either himself or through someone else, *predictos 4 pueros, qui pro tempore fuerint, in cantu sufficienter ac diligenter instruere* (A 328). In 1432 the prebendary of Durisdeer, then sub-precentor, had to provide the aliment for six boy choristers (A 346). An instrument records that in February 1507, the dean, Mr Robert Forman, and the chapter granted to John Panter an annual salary of 10 merks, over and above the yearly support from the sub-precentor, to be received for his constant service and daily practice in singing and music with the other ministers, vicars, and boys of the church of Glasgow. And the same Panter, by holding up his

hand as a sign of the promise made, faithfully promised the dean that he would give his daily service and practice in singing with the other ministers of the church (B 252).

The canon precentor in 1213 was a canon named Robert (A 93); in 1227 also named Robert (A 121); in 1238 also Robert (A 200); in 1258 it was Simon (A 166, 174); David, who died in August 1467, was precentor (A 616), and he was one of the four canons who were chosen in 1432 to make an inventory of all the ornaments, relics, and jewels belonging to the cathedral (A 329); David Cadzow in 1493 (A 329); and John Steinstoun or Stevenson was precentor in 1556 (A 581). His sub-precentor was John Hamilton, and they were the last holders of those offices before the break-up of 1560.

The salary and emoluments of the vicars can be gathered from various instruments. The original rate seems to have been 8 merks.¹ At a meeting in the chapter-house on 22nd May 1510, Mr John Gibson, prebendary of Renfrew, proposed to increase the salary of his stallar, and of his vicar of the choir serving in the same stall, by 2 merks, so as to be 10 merks annually, if the other prebendaries would do the same (B 352). In the year 1480 the dean and chapter agreed to increase the stipends of the vicars choral serving in their stalls, so that those who had previously received five pounds would in future each receive ten pounds from the prebendary in whose stall he served, and this arrangement was to bind their successors (A 443). Mr George Ker, prebendary, consented to give in future to his stall-vicar of Old Roxburgh, or to the stall-vicar of Newbottle, 9 merks yearly, and in the following year (1511) he was to decide whether to apply this increase of 20s. to his stall of Old Roxburgh or of Newbottle, and that afterwards it would be regularly paid by himself and by his successors (B 356). The dean and chapter and the vicars of the choir, assembled in general chapter, in the year 1510, agreed to an arrangement as follows:—That Mr Rowland Blacader, the sub-dean, should give 15 merks annually to his stall-vicar in place of the usual tax of 10 merks; that during his lifetime he should

¹ The silver merk was an old Scottish coin, value 13s. 4d. Ten merks was £6, 12s. 8d. The comparative value of money, then and now, may be inferred from the fact that in 1507 the purchase price of a tenement with an acre of land, in the burgh of Kirkintilloch, was twenty merks (B 216). A merk (not silver) was a sum of 13½d. An instance in point is where a tenant of Chanonland was ordered to remove from the said lands under a penalty of 40d. or 3 merks for each day that he remained (B 282).

have the presentation; and that after his death the dean and chapter should present to the stall, with the 15 merks attached to it, the senior vicar of the choir; and that this senior vicar should only be bound to the great hours in the choir of Glasgow and to the masses connected therewith, and that he should pay his fines for absence, etc. (B 355).

The canons distributed to the vicars yearly, at Whitsunday, their share of the common goods. An instrument, of date 1511, records the consent and resolution of the vicars of the choir, that the stall-vicar of the sub-dean and of his successors, for the observance of the greater hours, should have their share with the vicars of all casual and common moneys belonging to the vicars, both for obits and for other divine services (B 414). The vicars, with the exception of one, made a complaint to the president and chapter, that the payments, when the sub-precentor absented himself from the choir services, were not given to the vicars as provided for in the foundation (B 367).

As the vicars were a corporation or a college, they had their official or procurator to look after their interests and to defend their rights. A case in point is recorded, in 1504, in an instrument in which Sir Thos. Forsyth, as their procurator and in their name, protested against Sir Wm. Smith holding the half of the common goods belonging to the vicars without submitting to the same burden as the vicars did for their common goods (B 73). Another instrument, dated 1505, shows that Mr Wm. Brown, procurator of the vicars of the choir, received sasine of the annual rent of 8s., purchased by Mr Michael Fleming for the sum of 8 merks, as an augmentation of the half chaplaincy founded by the said Mr Michael at the altar of St Nicholas in the lower church, to be paid to the said vicars and their successors yearly (B 117). Mr Wm. Brown was succeeded in this office by Mr Richard Bothwell. An instrument, dated 9th March 1509, shows that Mr R. Bothwell undertook to act as the procurator for the vicars of the choir in all their present and future causes (B 324).

The editor of the "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis," in a note to the preface, takes it for granted that the vicars residential and the vicars of the choir were the same. He says: "These vicars residentiary, established for the decorum and solemnity of cathedral service, who are often called *stallarii*, and in Glasgow as well as in other cathedrals, had ultimately a regular constitution under the title of Vicars of the Choir" (A xxxi.). That the term *vicarios* and *stallarios* were identical is evident (A 346).

but that the *vicarios* and the *vicarios chori* were the same is not at all clear. On this account we have spoken of the former as stall-vicars and of the latter as vicars choral—the one set of vicars serving in the stalls of the choir, and the others singing in the choir.¹

Though the instrument of Bishop William Lauder might at first sight seem to show the identity of these vicars (A 312 and 414), there are many reasons for the contrary. (a) *Their number*.—The vicars choral were twelve, whereas the stall-vicars must have been thirty, more or less. The canons would find that there was a considerable difference between providing for twelve and for thirty vicars. (b) *Their dwellings*.—The vicars choral all lived on the north side of the cathedral, on a spot known as the place of the vicars; but the stall-vicars mostly dwelt in the Rotten Row (A lviii.). (c) *Their relation to the chapter*.—The cantors or vicars choral were under the precentor as their superior (A 169), whilst the stall-vicars were under the charge of the dean (A 169). (d) *Difference shown in the statutes*.—In the statutes “De cultu Divino,” etc., it is said that some of the canons are to be chosen as masters of ceremonies, and then adds, *et certi vicarii, tanquam similes magistri ceremoniarum intra vicarios chori* (A 350). (e) *Their exceptional position*.—In these same statutes an exceptional office and duty is assigned to the vicars choral: “And moreover, certain vicars choral will be chosen with jurisdiction as penitentiaries and hearers of the confessions of the canons, the vicars of the choir, and of the other members, with the power of absolving from all cases reserved or not” (A 350). (f) *The stall-vicars had to act as deacons and sub-deacons* when the mass was sung by the canons whom they represented (A 345); and this duty could not be undertaken by those who were employed in the music and were collected at the lectern. The most that can be said, if these arguments be not convincing, is that many of the vicars choral were stall-vicars, but that all the stall-vicars were not vicars choral.

At the same time, it is to be understood that the stall-vicars were an organised body with many rights and privileges. A document, dated 16th June 1487, regarding the foundation of a chaplain for the altar of Corpus Christi in the cathedral, bearing three seals, has that of the vicars, and is described as the seal “Vicariorum Glasguensis ecclesiae ex cera rubea super alba, exhibens mitram episcopalem nova forma, sub mitra baculum, super

¹ The terms are a little obscure, as some are spoken of as *vicarii in choro ministrantes* (A 415).

baculo piscem transversum annulum ore tenentem: inscriptum in circumferentia, *Sigillum vicariorum Roberti Episcopi Glasguensis*" (A II., xix.).

The above notes are introductory to the question as to the purpose and use of the building on the north side of the cathedral. The contention put forward in this paper is that the building was the erection spoken of in old documents as the *aula vicariorum chori*.

In five different deeds or instruments this term is used. The first mention is in an instrument, of date 16th July 1505, narrating that Peter Colquhoun, as agent for John Scot, appeared before Mr David Coningham and Adam Colquhoun, canons, bailies of Chanonland, sitting in judgment *in aula vicariorum*, alleging that the said John had his mother's consent, and wished to be rented in the tack belonging to and then possessed by her (B 118). The second document is dated 30th October 1506. The same canons, D. Coningham and A. Colquhoun, bailies of the Chanonland,¹ and sitting in judgment *in aula collegii vicariorum chori*, received an application to the effect that Catherine Stirrat, now married to Edward Johnson, should enjoy as rentrix the tack of the 13s. lands in the Chanonland, in which her first husband, Thomas Clerk, died last rented. The instrument ends, *Acta judicialiter in aula vicariorum* (B 148). The third document takes us to the year 1510. It narrates that Mr Richard Bothwell and Sir Robert Fawside were deputed by the canons to inquire about some household utensils belonging to the vicars. It ends with the words *Acta in aula vicariorum in Glasgow* (B 386). A fourth instance of the use of this term occurs under date 3rd May 1511. It is a protest by Sir Bartholomew Blare, perpetual chaplain of the chaplaincy of St James, within the Church of Glasgow, and in presence of witnesses, Mr Thos. Heslop, Sir Wm. Brown, Alex. Panter, and Adam Smerles, against the decree passed by James, Archbishop of Glasgow, by which David Gardinar was to be relieved of an annual payment of 5s., which was to be paid by Sir B. Blare and his successors. This was done *in aula vicariorum chori* (B 403). The fifth document is of date 5th October 1511. It is an instrument narrating that Mr Wm. Brown, in the presence of Mr Rowland Blacader, sub-dean, Adam Colquhoun and Nicolas Greenlaw,

¹ The lands called the Chanonland (called elsewhere "The 40 merkland of the Chanons that belonged to the Archbishop of Glasgow"), situated in the Bailiery of Cuningham and shire of Ayr, were originally granted to the church of Glasgow by the munificent Devorgilla, mother of John Baliol, and confirmed by Alexander III. of Scotland, in 1277 (A 192), and were afterwards appropriated to the canons.—See *supra*, p. 74.

canons, and other priests, *in aula vicariorum chori*, on learning from Mr A. Colquhoun that Mr Alex. Inglis, treasurer of Glasgow, had calumniated him, entered his protest and resolved to seek remedy at law (B 429).

From all that has been said, and from these last instruments, it seems reasonable to believe that the building on the north side of the cathedral was the early song school of the church which, when Bishop Muirhead (1455-1473) formed the College of Vicars Choral, passed naturally into their hands, and that it was a hall for their use, for their business meetings, and for their music practising. The following reasons seem to establish this view :—

1. The vicars of the choir all dwelt on the north side of the cathedral. The precentor and the sub-precentor had their manses and gardens on the same side and joining those of the vicars. By this arrangement they could all easily and conveniently meet in this hall.

2. It was intended to be a two-storey building. A stair to lead to the second storey was seen when some repairs were made in this building in January 1889. A sketch of this stair was made by Mr William Kennedy, Clerk of Works, G.P.O. The repair in question was but the renewal, in brickwork, of the arch supporting the modern stone roof. The position of the staircase was nearer the north-west angle than the south-west. The staircase, he informs me, was evidently in the thickness of the old wall, which had been faced outside at the time of the “restoration,” when the building had been reduced in height from two storeys to one storey. The stair would probably be continued in the thickness of the wall to the level of the upper floor, so that the doorway from the staircase to the upper floor would be nearer the south-west angle than the north-west. The doorway to the lower floor can still be seen from the inside of the building. It is built up with rubble; as was also the staircase at the time of the repair in 1889. It had been filled with rubbish at the time of the “restoration.”

The hall on the second storey may have been meant for the robing-room of the vicars, or it may have been used as the sleeping-place of the sacristan, who was required to sleep in the church (A 410).

3. A song school and hall, where the vicars choral and the choir boys could meet for their rehearsals, would be required, and by this hall such a need would be supplied.

4. There were occasions when meetings on matters of business were to be held between the canons and the vicars choral. Some of these meetings were held in the chapter-house, and others in the hall of the vicars of

the choir. That the latter building was suitable for the purpose is evident from the fact that its size was 36 feet long by 28 feet broad. In the cases quoted above, we find that in two instances two canons sat in judgment in this hall; in the third instance, two canons sat to make an inquiry; and in the fifth case, three canons were present to receive a protest.

Nor can it be argued that such meetings could have been held in the dining-hall of the vicars, because it would not have been a suitable room. For more private matters, meetings were sometimes held in the apartment of the vicar; *e.g.*, an instrument, on the appointment by Sir Alex. Panter, vicar of the choir, of Sir G. Panter as his procurator, was drawn up *in camera sua in loco vicariorum de Glasgw* (B 457).

5. To the above reasons for applying the term "the hall of the vicars of the choir" to the building on the north side of the cathedral may be added that no other probable purpose or use for the building can be assigned.



Door in North Transept.

THE ANCIENT ALTARS OF THE CATHEDRAL.¹

BY HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.



Corbel in Lower Church

THE many visitors to the Cathedral are constantly asking for information on the subject of its old arrangements. They wish to know how many altars there were in the church—where the high altar stood—where the other altars were situated—and what was the dedication of each altar. As no popular handbook exists giving the information, it has been thought well to collect and embody it. In two books the subject has been treated, though in an imperfect manner. Dr Gordon's "Scotichronicon," on pp. 448-451, gives a "List of Altars in the Cathedral," as nineteen in number; and Walcott, in "The Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 178, has a ground-plan of the upper church only, with eighteen altars marked upon it, and gives

a very short and incomplete list on pp. 180 and 181.

In order to find a complete list of these altars, and of other arrangements, we must have recourse to old documents in which they are mentioned, and not systematically but incidentally, when speaking

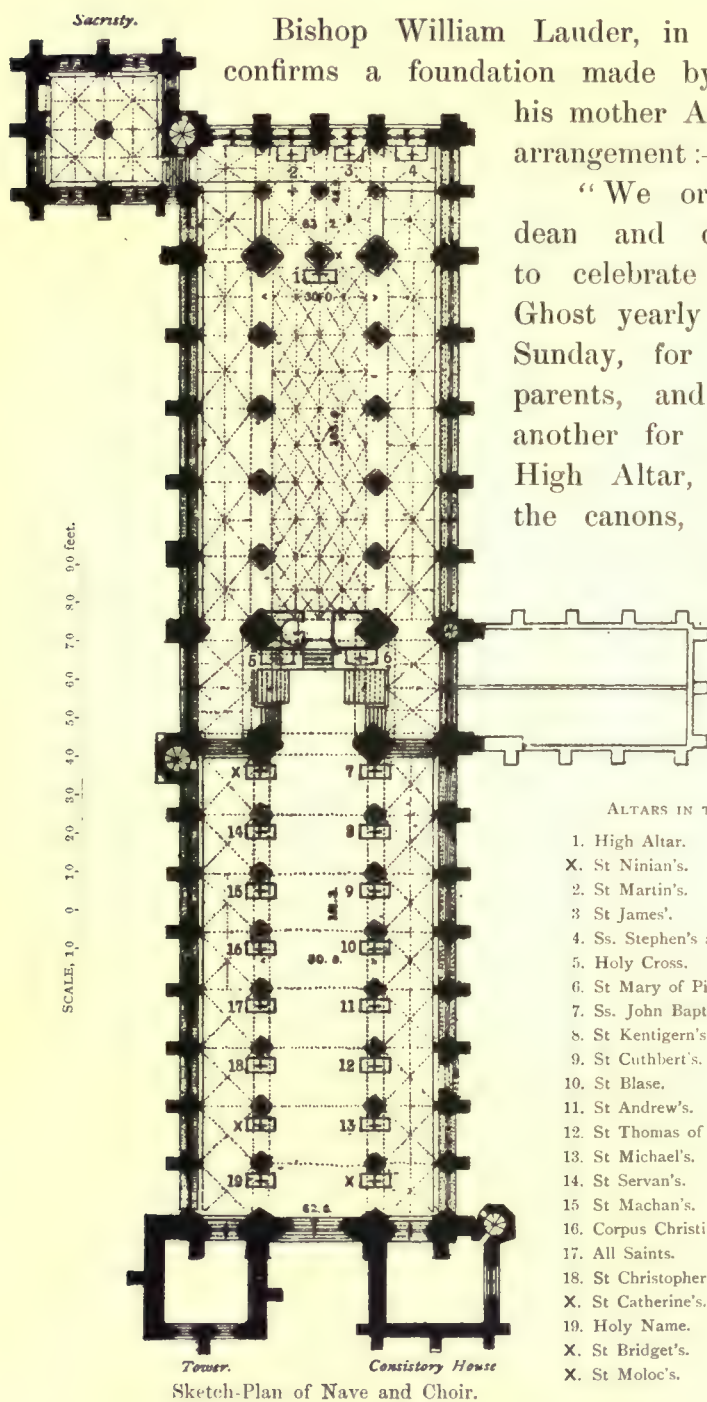
¹ This paper was read, under the title of "The Old Arrangements of the Glasgow Cathedral," at a meeting of Glasgow Archæological Society, March 21, 1889. It is included here with the kind consent of the Council of that Society. The opportunity has been taken to make some corrections in the article.

of their founders or benefactors. Fortunately we have two works filled with such papers, and from these we have extracted the notes contained in this article. The first of these works is the "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis," in 2 vols., printed by the Maitland Club in 1843; the other is the "Diocesan Registers of Glasgow," in 2 vols., printed by the Grampian Club in 1875. The "Registrum" contains a number of old documents, numbered from 1 to 548, and ranging over a period from the year 1116 to 1556; the "Diocesan Registers" contain, besides the Rental Book, the Protocol Register of the Archiepiscopal Diocese of Glasgow, from 1499 to 1513, consisting of protocols numbered 1 to 665.¹

With the sketch-plans of Glasgow Cathedral here printed, the various altars and their respective positions, both in the upper church and the lower church, will be easily seen. In the upper church there were twenty-four chapels or altars, and in the lower six altars.

1. The High Altar occupied the place usual in cathedral churches. It is marked 1 in the accompanying plan. It is called in some places Magnum Altare (A 342, 384) and Majus Altare (325), and in other documents Primarium Altare (A 484, 490). The dedication was to St Kentigern. The twenty-six feasts on which the canons were to sing mass at the High Altar are named in the document, A 342; and also the order in which the canons in residence were to officiate, if the bishop did not wish to officiate. The bishop's throne or seat was in front of the altar on the right hand side, and described "*in sede coram summo Altari*" (A 504); whilst the space between the rood-screen and the altar was filled on either side with the stalls of the capitular body. James Lindsay, the dean, amongst other benefactions, made provision for 4 lbs. of wax and 2 lbs. of incense annually for the feast of St Kentigern (A 442). An old statute or custom of the church was that the six deacons and sub-deacons assisting at the mass at the High Altar on great festivals were to have their food (*esculenta et poculenta*) of the day, from the canon on duty, or 18d. each for their expenses (A 342).

¹ In the various references in this article, the "Registrum" will be marked as A, followed by the number of the deed; and the "Diocesan Registers" as B, followed by the number of the protocol.



Bishop William Lauder, in a document in which he confirms a foundation made by his father Robert and his mother Anabella, made the following arrangement:—

“We ordain and wish that the dean and chapter shall be bound to celebrate one mass of the Holy Ghost yearly on the day after Trinity Sunday, for the good estate of our parents, and on the following day another for our good estate, at the High Altar, to be sung by one of the canons, as long as our parents and we shall be in life”

(A 326).

In the year 1429 Alan Stewart, of Dernele, gave to the church of Glasgow and its High Altar, in honour of God Almighty, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St Kentigern, one vestment of red velvet, a white chasuble, amice, girdle, maniple and stole, two hangings with figures in

ALTARS IN THE CHURCH.

1. High Altar.
- X. St Ninian's.
2. St Martin's.
3. St James'.
4. Ss. Stephen's and Laurence's.
5. Holy Cross.
6. St Mary of Pity.
7. Ss. John Baptist and Nicholas.
8. St Kentigern's.
9. St Cuthbert's.
10. St Blase.
11. St Andrew's.
12. St Thomas of Canterbury.
13. St Michael's.
14. St Servan's.
15. St Machan's.
16. Corpus Christi.
17. All Saints.
18. St Christopher's.
- X. St Catherine's.
19. Holy Name.
- X. St Bridget's.
- X. St Moloc's.

embroidery for the front and back of the altar, and one pall and embroidered frontal (A 337). A long list of vestments and

ornaments for the use of the High Altar is given in the document, A 339.¹

Among the statutes issued by Bishop Cameron, in 1432, was one to the effect that "whenever the bishop officiates, all the canons residentiary shall be present in the choir in their canonical dress, at the first vespers, matins, mass, and at second vespers" (A 341).

A requiem service was founded by him, as recorded in A, Appendix V., No. 2, p. cii. "Also Bishop Cameron, seeing there was no requiem mass founded permanently in the church of Glasgow for the souls of his predecessors and successors, and all the faithful departed, established and founded a requiem mass, to be celebrated daily at the High Altar, with priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, by the vicars of the choir, with the help of four good and well-behaved boys with good voices and trained in singing."

There is reason to think that the High Altar had a wooden canopy or tabernacle work over it, for in the memorandum of contract, dated 8th January 1506, between the dean and chapter on the one part, and Michael Waghorn, wright, on the other part, the latter was to make some canopies for the covering of the stalls, "and specially after the form of the frontell of the silours of the High Altar in Glasgow," B, vol. ii. p. 152.

So great was the devotion to St Kentigern, and so famed and loved was his church, that on the 21st August 1301, Edward I. made an offering of seven shillings at the High Altar. On the same day he gave a similar sum at the shrine of the saint, to which he had also the previous day made an offering of seven shillings; and again on 3rd September he offered a similar sum.²

2. Passing from the High Altar to the east end of the choir, we find, in the third bay from the south, the chapel and altar of St Martin. The site of this altar is easily recognised from the deed, A 473, that points out that the altar of St James, *in choro ecclesiae in parte orientali*, was between

¹ A valuable and interesting inventory exists of all the vestments, ornaments, church plate, and relics of the Glasgow Cathedral, made by order of the bishop and chapter, on 24th March 1432, by Robert de Moffatt, treasurer, David de Cadzow, precentor, William de Govan and Thomas Wan, canons. The list is contained under the following heads:—(1) chalices and episcopal robes; (2) jewels, precious stones, and rings; (3) relics; (4) silver vessels in the keeping of the sacristan; (5) vestments for the bishop and his ministers; (6) other vestments and ornaments under the care of the sacristan; (7) copes. These are printed in the "Registrum Episcopatus," pp. 329-334; and are given in an English translation in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," pp. 451-454.

² See "Computus Garderobe."

the altar of St Martin on the north side and the altar of Ss. Stephen and Laurence on the south side.

3. To the right of St Martin's was the chapel and altar of St James the Apostle. A chaplaincy for the altar of St James was founded, in 1496, by Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Cathedral, "for the praise, glory, and honour of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and the blessed Apostles James and John, and of all the Saints." The nature of the endowment is given at length in A 473. An instrument shows that in the year 1506, Mr David Bruse, chaplain of this chaplaincy, resigned it into the hands of Robert, the Archbishop, who appointed to it Mr James Neilson, by placing on his finger a ring, and committing to him the care and management thereof (B 165). Another instrument shows that this chaplaincy, vacant by the death of Sir John Paris, was given to Sir Bartholomew Blare: "which sasine and possession was given by touch and delivery of the chalice, missal, altar, and ornaments thereof, with the fulness of canonical right" (B 382).

4. The Chapel of Ss. Stephen and Laurence, martyrs, was at the south-east angle of the choir. James Lindsay, dean, in 1486, "for the good of his soul, and of the souls of William Lindsay, his father, and Matilda Stewart, his mother, of their parents, and of friends and parishioners, and also of the souls of those by whom he had benefited during his life, and of all the faithful departed, founded a chaplaincy at the altar of Ss. Stephen and Laurence, martyrs, behind the High Altar in the church of Glasgow" (A 441). A list of the endowments is added, and a clause that, after his death, the presentation should fall to the chapter. He also founded an Obit for his anniversary, on which day forty poor persons were to receive 8d. each: and he arranged that annually, on the feast of St Kentigern, 4 lbs. of wax and 2 lbs. of incense were to be given to the church. Thomas Guthrie was the first chaplain on the new foundation. In 1507 William Smyth, a choir chaplain, was appointed by the chapter to this chaplaincy (A 484). The endowment consisted of half of the lands of Scroggs, in the Barony of Stobo—an annual rent of ten merks. from S. Gelisgrange, Edinburgh—and of other rents.

There was no doubt another chapel between St Martin's and the sacristy.

5. Passing from the choir to the transept, on the left hand side of the rood-screen entrance was the altar of "The Holy Cross." This altar

still remains, and has on its front five figures bearing labels, and on its north side the arms of Bishop Blacader, surmounted with a cross.

Malcolm Durant, a canon of Glasgow, and prebendary of Govan, in the year 1497 founded a perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of the Holy Cross. For this purpose he gave a tenement in the Drygate on its south side, a second tenement in the same locality, a tenement in Rottenrow, etc., etc. (A 476, B 188, 306).

6. The altar of Our Lady, known as "St Mary of Pity," *i.e.*, the Pieta, stood at the right of the rood-screen entrance, just opposite the altar of the Holy Cross.¹ This altar still remains *in situ*. It is larger than the corresponding one on the other side of the screen, and has on its front six figures bearing labels, and on its south end has again the arms of the bishop surmounted by a very rich and well carved mitre.

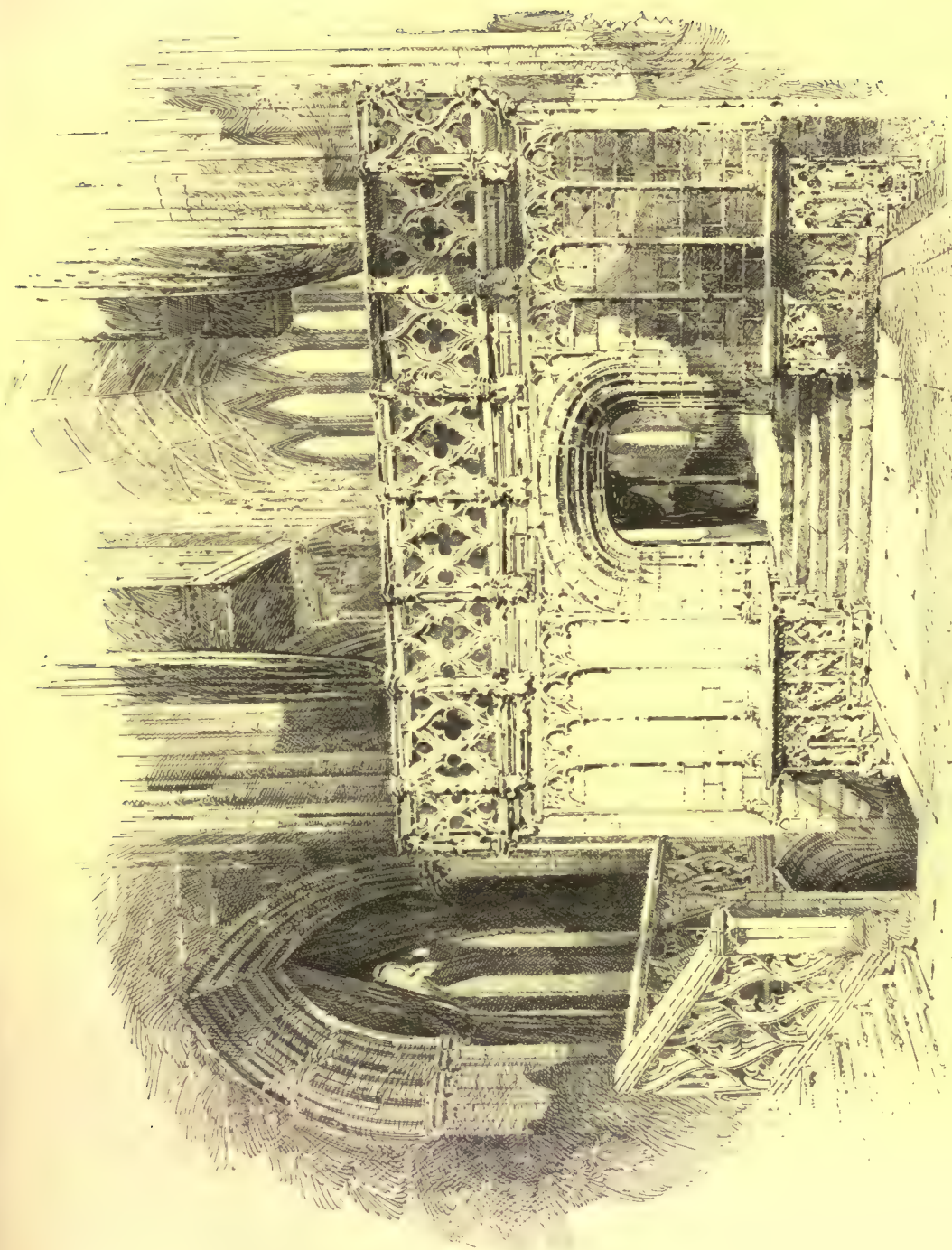
Archbishop Blacader, in 1503, founded three chaplaincies from the rents of the lands of Craigrossie, in Strathearn.² One of these was "a chaplaincy at the altar of the glorious Virgin Mary of Pity, on the south side of the entrance to the choir" (A 482). Four years later, *i.e.*, in 1507, he left a further grant, *de redditibus, obventionibus et proventibus minoris custume Archiepiscopi ville Glasguensis*, to the chaplaincies founded by him at the altars of the Name of Jesus, and of the Blessed Mary of Pity, near the choir entrance (A 486).

As Archbishop Blacader removed the old rood-screen when he constructed the stairs leading to the low church, and built the present rood-loft, the altar of St Mary of Pity only dates from about 1503. Where Our Lady's altar stood, before the change, does not seem clear. The document 248 in the "Registrum," shows that in the year 1293, Odard,

¹ In Walcott's ground-plan of the upper church, on which eighteen altars are marked, there are only twelve with the names attached to them. Of these, two are clearly named wrong, *i.e.*, the altar of St John Baptist and that of St Mary of Pity. He makes a mistake in putting the altars of St Catherine and of St Martin in the lower church; and also in supposing that the three altars of St John Baptist, St Cuthbert, and St Blase were but one and the same altar.

Since the sketch-plan of Glasgow Cathedral was printed in the *Transactions of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, we have seen reason to alter several of the figures:—No. 17 is now marked as Corpus Christi altar, and No. 18 All Saints' altar; Nos. 10, 11, 12, 14, and 18 are but conjectures.

² The payment is recorded, in an instrument dated 10th May 1503, by the Chamberlain of the Archbishop to John Lord Sempill, of 360 merks, the last instalment of 1360 merks paid by the prelate to that nobleman for the lands of Craigrossie, which were mortified by the Archbishop shortly afterwards for the support of a chaplaincy at the altar of Our Lady of Pity, a chaplaincy at the Jesus altar, and a third chaplaincy in the church he built at Culross in honour of St Kentigern.



Road Inf.

2nd Edition

the son of Richard Hangpudying, gave, for the purpose of the lights of St Mary in the upper church (*in majori ecclesia*), the half of seven perches of land lying eastward outside the town: and sasine, or legal possession, was given to John de Boyeul, vicar of the choir in charge of these lights, *per intol et uttol super solum*, as was customary. This gift of land and sasine was made in the presence of Oliver, the Provost, and twelve citizens of Glasgow (A 248).

Also John Danyelston, the proprietor of Fynlauistoun, Danyelston, and Kilmoloog, within the barony of Renfrew, gave in the year 1377 "To God, and specially to the B. Virgin Mary, St Kentigern, Confessor, and all the Saints, and also to the perpetual Chaplain serving the Altar of the B. Virgin Mary in Glasgow Cathedral, for his support, ten merks sterling from his lands of Finlauyston, Danyelston, and Kilmoloog." The conditions are as in the case of the Hamilton foundation. A clause was contained in the document that his heirs or his assigns were to provide a new choir habit for the chaplain whenever the old one was worn out: and that the cathedral sacristan was to supply him with all the necessaries for celebrating mass at the above-named altar (A 315). This paper bore the seal of the donor, and "for greater evidence and security, the official seal of Glasgow, together with the seals of my beloved sons Robert Danielston, Lord of Levenax and keeper of the Castle of Dunbretan, master of Kymoronoeh and of Glencharyn, and of William Danielston, master of Colgrane and Cambusescan."

7. The seventh altar, and the first west of the transept, was the altar of St John Baptist and St Nicholas. In one deed of mortification this altar is spoken of as "situated in the nave of our Glasgow church" (A 391), and in the deed of foundation the situation is more precisely marked as "in the nave on its south side and at the first pillar from the screen" (*in navi sive deambulatorio ejusdem ex parte australi ad primam columnam a solio crucifixi situatam in honorem Sancti Joannis Baptistæ*) (A 468). In May 1494, Archibald Whitelaw, sub-dean of Glasgow, founded a chaplaincy at this altar, devoting to this purpose three houses in the Drygate, two acres of land on the Denesyde, three roods on Provanside, etc. After the death of the founder the presentation was to go to the chapter. In these two deeds the altar is called the altar of St John Baptist simply, but in another deed of 1524, it is called the altar of St John and St Nicholas, *in navi ejusdem altare Sanctorum Joannis*

Baptiste et Nicholai, situm et locatum in latere meridionali ecclesie predictae ad primam a solario crucifixi columnam (A 495). At this date Roland Blacader, the sub-dean, founded a chaplaincy at this altar, endowing it with land, tenements, and rents.¹ The chaplain was to be the master of the house, founded and built by him for the poor and needy, near the stable-green (A 495). By this altar was a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, known as our Lady of Consolation. One of three perpetual chaplaincies established by Archbishop Blacader, was our Lady's Chaplaincy (A 486). A deed, of date 1503, shows the archbishop arranged that every evening after Complin, the vicars of the choir should sing one Salve or one Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary, viz., Ave gloriosa or Salve Regina, with versicle and collect, in the middle of the nave of the church, and before the statue of St Mary of Consolation (A 482).

An instrument (B 128) shows that on occasion of a vacancy through the death of the chaplain, Mr John Bigholme, the chapter on 9th May 1505, by a plurality of votes presented Mr John Spreule, presbyter, to the perpetual chaplaincy of the altar of St John the Baptist, "founded by the deceased Mr Archibald Whitelaw, of good memory." Four years later Mr John Spreule received the appointment of the perpetual vicarage of Carmunock, to which personal residence was obligatory, and the President and Chapter of Glasgow presented to the chaplaincy Sir Patrick Blacader, "by touch and real delivery of the chalice, book, altar, and ornaments thereof" (B 399).

In the year 1513, Mr Robert Elphinstoun, canon of Aberdeen, made over an annual rent of 15s. from a tenement on the west side of the High Street, Glasgow, and also an annual rent of 14s. from a tenement on the east side of the street, into the hands of Thomas Law, one of the bailies of Glasgow; who thereupon gave sasine of the said annual rents, by delivery of a penny, hesp and staple,² to Sir William Burell, chaplain

¹ Mr Roland Blacader, in 1505, bought from John Inglis three roods of hauchland, lying upon the Dene Syde, between the lands of John Inglis on the east, the lands of the chaplaincy of St John the Baptist on the west, the lands called the "Round Acre" on the south, and the common way of the Deneside on the north. The three roods probably were at the foot of the steep ascent known now as the "Deanside Brae" of Glasgow. The Deneside lands lay on both sides of the Rottenrow; and "a common way," styled the "Deneside," ran east and west along the line of the present George Street.—See *Transactions of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. i. p. 364, Note B.

² In Scots law the ancient form of entering an heir in burgage subject, by which the heir was made to take hold of the hasp and staple of the door, as a symbol of possession, and then enter the house.

of the chaplaincy founded by sub-dean Blacader, "at the altar of St Nicholas in the nave of the church of Glasgow" (B 656, 532).

8. The eighth altar was that of St Kentigern. In addition to the High Altar in the choir, there was this altar in the nave dedicated to him. The site of this altar is clearly indicated in the document recording the foundation of the chaplaincy. In 1506, "Andrew Steward, Archdeacon of Candida Casa, founded a chaplaincy at the altar of St Kentigern, that had been erected by his father Walter Steward on the south side of the nave of the church of Glasgow" (A 485). For its support he gave a tenement on the west side of the High Street, and also three other tenements. Some interesting conditions were attached to this chaplaincy, which need not be introduced in this short paper.

In "1284, King Alexander gave for himself and his heirs for ever, a hundred shillings sterling, annually, from Rutherglen, to the priest who at the altar of St Kentigern in Glasgow Cathedral, shall offer the Holy Sacrifice for us and for our ancestors and successors" (A 235, 249).

In February 1505, Sir Bartholomew Blare received institution, induction, and investiture as chaplain, "by touch and delivery of the chalice, missal, the corporal and other ornaments of the altar of the chaplaincy of St Kentigern the Confessor, founded in the upper church of Glasgow, at the altar of St Kentigern on the south side" (B 148). And a protocol narrates, "that on Sunday, 23rd February 1505, Patrick Culquhoun, Provost, and Thomas Huchonson and David Lindsay, Bailies of Glasgow, for themselves and in name of the whole cummunity of the city, delivered to Sir Barth. Blare, chaplain of the chaplaincy of St Kentigern, founded at the altar of St Kentigern on the south side of the upper church, the altar ornaments and belongings," of which a list is therein given (B 149). From this curious list, belonging to a side altar, some idea may be gathered of the variety and value of the furnishings of the High Altar.

Mr A. Steward, Archdeacon of Galloway, who founded this perpetual chaplaincy, "from the goods conferred on him by God, and collected by his own industry and labour," appointed to the said chaplaincy, in November 1507, Sir James Houston, deacon,¹ and gave to him, who

¹ This was the first piece of preferment given to Mr James Houston, who at this time was not a priest but only in deacon's orders. He afterwards succeeded Roland Blacader as sub-dean, and was the founder of the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Anne, in the Trongate.

appeared in person before him and on his knees, institution, investiture, and induction by delivery of his biretta (B 281).

9. The next altar was St Cuthbert's. A deed of mortification of lands, farms, and rents, dated 1467, shows that at a former period, Nicholas Greenlaw, dean, John Stewart, sub-dean, Robert Moffat, treasurer, and David Narne, who were canons, and John Dalgles and Richard Gardiner, who were vicars of the parish churches of Dregarn and Colmanel, had founded altars and perpetual chaplaincies in honour of St John the Baptist, St Blase, martyr, and St Cuthbert, confessor, situated in the nave of the church (A 391).

Also a document of Bishop Andrew, issued January 1472, and confirming the foundation, shows that James Douglas of Achincassil, "founded a chaplaincy of ten pounds, at the altar of St Cuthbert on the south side of the nave of Glasgow Cathedral, to the praise, glory, and honour of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of the B. Virgin Mary, of St Cuthbert, confessor, and of all the Saints." It was endowed with the annual rents of tenements in Glasgow and Linlithgow (A 396).

10. St Blase, martyr, had an altar in the cathedral. Though no deed of foundation seems to have survived, mention is made of this altar in a document already alluded to in No. 7. In a list of mortifications of lands and rents (A 391), mention is made of "altars and perpetual chaplaincies of St John the Baptist, St Blase, martyr, and St Cuthbert, confessor, situated in the nave of the church of Glasgow." The names of the founders are given in the same paper.

11. St Andrew's altar was probably the next.

In connection with this altar there is an instrument showing that in 1511, Martin Rede, chancellor, Adam Colquhoun, and Robert Clerk, canons of Glasgow, and John Sprewle, vicar of Carmunnock, were called upon to arbitrate in a dispute regarding the claim of 5s. yearly, payable to the altar of St Andrew in the church of Glasgow, from the tenement of David Gardinar in the Drygate. David Gardinar maintained that Sir Bartholomew Blare and his successors, chaplains of St James, who drew yearly 20s. from the said tenement, ought to relieve him (B 518).

12. St Thomas of Canterbury's altar was possibly next in order. In an indenture, bearing date 12th July 1320, by which Walter, the son

of Gilbert, gives some vestments to the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the low church, which are to be kept for the use of that altar, he reserves to himself and his wife during their lives, and afterwards to his heirs, the liberty to use these vestments and church plate twice a year in the chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, *i.e.*, on his feast at Christmas time, and on the feast of his translation (A 267).

13. St Michael's altar was the thirteenth of those in the upper church. The site of the altar is again clearly pointed out in one of the deeds. A perpetual chaplaincy was founded in 1478 by Gilbert Reryk, chief archdeacon of the church of Glasgow, at the altar of St Michael, behind the south door to the west: (*in insula Beati Michaelis archangeli infra ecclesiam Glasguensem, et retro magnam portam australem ejusdem ecclesie versus occidentem, et ad altare ejusdem insule*) (A 420). For its support he gave a tenement in the Rottenrow (*in via ratonum*) on the south side, known as the Pedagogy,¹ also a large tenement adjoining, and two other tenements. To this property were attached the conditions: first, that the chaplain every year, on the feast of St Michael, should distribute in public, after the morning service, the sum of 20s. amongst thirty poor and needy persons to be selected by him, *i.e.*, giving to each person meat and drink to the value of 8d., or as much in money if he thought it more desirable; second, that the chaplain should maintain and repair the houses and tenements belonging to the chaplaincy, as also the vestments and altar furnishings. The last chaplain before the Reformation was David Gibson (A 527).²

The "Processus," or list of the muniments registered on 6th June 1488, by Patrick Leech, the official, as belonging to the altar of St Michael, is printed in the "Registrum" (A 452).

The above Gilbert Reryk, on 20th February 1494, gave for the use of Mr David Gray, chaplain of the altar of St Michael, and of his successors, a cope of green silk; the custody of which cope was given to the sacristan, to be kept in the vestibule with the other copes belonging to the church (A 454).

14. The altar of St Servan, or St Serf, seems to have been on the north side. The particulars have been printed of an agreement

¹ A drawing of the old Pedagogy in the Rottenrow will be found on p. 95, *supra*.

² For the history of this foundation, after the change of religion, see A 527, 528, and 529.

completed on 10th June 1446, between Mr David Cadyhow, precentor of the church, and the vicars choral, to this effect:—The vicars, and their successors, will celebrate a mass every day at the altar of St Servan that the said David rebuilt, for the souls of Mr David and of his parents, and of all those buried in the church and in the cemetery attached to it, and of all the faithful departed. The endowment and some further arrangements are given in this instrument (A 348). Another document shows that in 1214, four merks annually from the mill of Cadder were settled upon the church of Glasgow. “I, Alexander, Earl, have given and confirmed to St Kentigern, and St Servan, and the church of Glasgow, three merks yearly as a perpetual alms from my mill at Cadder, to be received, 20s. at Whitsuntide and 20s. at Martinmas, for the support of a chaplain serving the church of Glasgow at the altar of St Servan, which I erected in the same church” (A 121, 122).

By his last will and testament, Mr Patrick Elphinstoun, canon of Glasgow, and prebendary of Erskine, dated 30th June 1507, expressed the wish to be buried in the higher church at the north side of St Servan's altar. To the fabric of the church he left 5s. (B 249).¹

15. St Machan, the apostle of Strathblane, had an altar in the cathedral. The document of foundation states that Patrick Leech, chancellor of the cathedral, through a spirit of fervent devotion, in 1458 founded a new chaplaincy with a perpetual chaplain, within the church of Glasgow, in the nave on the north side at the altar of St Machan, situated at the third pillar from the rood-loft (*in navi seu deambulatorio ejusdem ex parte boreali ad altare Sancti Machani ad tertiam columnam a solio crucifixi situm*). It is described as constructed of cut and polished stones, “to the praise, glory, and honour of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of the B. Virgin Mary, Ss. Kentigern and Machan, Confessors, and to the honour and veneration of all the Saints and heavenly citizens.” The property and rents for its support are added, and a proviso that after the founder's death the council and bailies shall present

¹ His executors were Sir A. Robertson and John Elphinstoun, a burgess and a relative, and he appointed as oversmen to them Mr Robert Elphinstoun, rector of Kincardinneile, and Andrew Elphinstoun, Knight. This shows a connection between the Elphinstouns and the noble family of the name. In December 1507, James IV. conferred the castle and lands of Kildrummie (about twelve miles from Kincardine O'Neil) on Alexander, first Lord Elphinstoun, whose descendants retained it till 1626, when the Earl of Mar recovered it by law.—See *Transactions of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. i. p. 383, Note B.

to the chaplaincy, giving the preference to those of the kin of the founder if found worthy (A 369).¹

In 1509 Sir Archibald Calderwood, vicar of Cadder, from a tenement near the "Pedagogy," gave an annual rent of 4s. to St Machan's altar, in the higher church of Glasgow (A 489).

In the indenture of Walter, son of Gilbert, already described under No. 12, "it was arranged that the vestments given by him to the church should be allowed to be used four times in the year at the altar of St Mary of Maychan," *i.e.*, on Christmas Day, Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, and the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (A 267).

16. At the next pillar was the altar of Corpus Christi. In the year 1487, Thomas Forsith, a canon of Glasgow and prebendary of "Glasgu primo," founded a new perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of Corpus Christi, by him constructed in stone, in the nave *sive ambulatorio* of the cathedral church, on the north side and at the fourth pillar from the rood-loft. The endowment consisted of two tenements on the east side of the High Street, and of some rents (A 446).

17. All Saints' altar was the next in order, and its site is clearly pointed out in the founder's deed. David Cunningham, provost of the collegiate church of Hamilton, and official of Glasgow, founded in 1495 a perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of All Saints, erected by him on the north side of the nave, at the fifth pillar from the rood-loft (*ad altare omnium Sanctorum nuper in parte boreali navis ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Glasguensis, in quinta columna a solio Sanctæ Crucis, per ipsam constructum*) (A 471).

The endowment was from a tenement in Glasgow and one in Dunbarton, and a rent of 6s. 8d. from another tenement in Dunbarton, etc.

18. St Christopher's altar was also in the nave.

19. The altar of the Holy Name, or the Jesus Altar. This altar is mentioned in the document (A 486) in which the foundation of three chaplaincies by Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, is recorded. It is called *Altare Nominis Jhesu*. It was situated at the north side of the entrance into the church (*altare nominis jhesu in ecclesia metropolitana Glasguensi ex parte boreali introitus ejusdem*), was erected and repaired by the archbishop, and was endowed from the rents of the lands of Craigrossie (A 482).

¹ In this document the Rottenrow is twice mentioned, once as *in vicu ratonum*, and again in *dicto vicu vulgariter nuncupato Ratonraw*.

In addition to these nineteen altars, of which the localities can be ascertained, there were three or four more in the upper church, the names of which are known, but not the site.

X. St Ninian had an altar in the church. An instrument, dated 1513, mentions Mr John Rede as chaplain of St Ninian's altar in the church of Glasgow (B 654).

X. There was an altar dedicated to St Catherine. It was endowed with a foundation by Bishop Turnbull (A 384), and is again alluded to in the same document, where mention is made of the vestments "of the High Altar, of the altar of the Holy Cross, of St Catherine, of St Martin, and of the B. V. Mary in the lower church."

X. St Bridget had an altar in the church. The only mention of it, however, seems to be in the last will and testament of Sir George Simontoun, vicar of Mernys, in which he expressed his wish that his body should be buried in the church of Glasgow, at the north side of St Bridget's altar, if the archbishop approved (B 250). This instrument was dated 6th July 1507.

X. St Molocus, of Lismore, whose staff is still preserved in the possession of the Duke of Argyll, and who was buried in the church of St Boniface in Rosmarkie, had an altar in the cathedral. It is mentioned in a document wherein Mr Walter Abernethy, provost of Dunbarton collegiate church,¹ protests against the claim to an annual pension or salary, made by Sir Humphrey Coningham for his services as curate of Strathblane. It ends thus—"Done at the Altar of St Moloc, in the church of Glasgow, 23rd October 1507" (B 273, 297).

X. A document is printed in the "Registrum" (A 308) with details concerning the foundation of a perpetual chaplaincy at an altar, the name of which is illegible. The founder was Duncan Walys, proprietor, of Knockfubil in the barony of Bothwell. It is dated 21st October 1368, and reads thus—"For the good of my soul and for the soul of Eleanor Bruce, Countess of Carrick, my wife, &c., I have established and arranged a perpetual chaplaincy in the church of Glasgow at the altar" For the support of the chaplain he granted twelve merks sterling annually

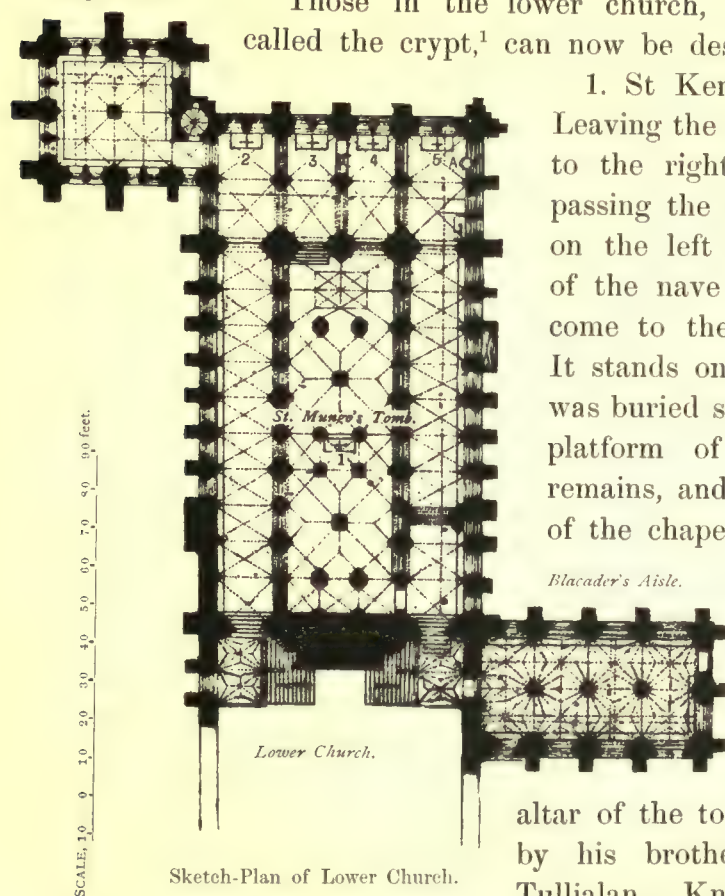
¹ This collegiate church, dedicated to St Patrick, was founded in 1450 for a provost and six canons, by Isabella, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, widow of Murdoc the Regent, executed by James I. in 1425. Strathblane was one of the churches with which it was endowed.

from his land of Knocfubill; and some interesting conditions are contained in the document.

From this list it appears that there were twenty-four chapels or altars in the higher church.

Chapter-House.

Those in the lower church, commonly but incorrectly called the crypt,¹ can now be described.



Sketch-Plan of Lower Church.

ALTARS IN LOWER CHURCH.

1. St Mungo's Shrine.
2. St Nicholas'.
3. Ss. Peter and Paul.
4. St Andrew's.
5. St John Evangelist's.
- X. Blessed Virgin Mary.
- A. St Mungo's Well.

1. St Kentigern's chapel and tomb. Leaving the higher church by the stairs to the right of the rood-screen, and passing the crypt of Bishop Blacader, on the left hand and near the centre of the nave of the lower church, we come to the chapel of St Kentigern. It stands on the spot where the saint was buried some 1295 years ago. The platform of the chapel and shrine remains, and shows the size and form of the chapel enclosed within four of the pillars that support the floor above. About eighteen months before his death, Archbishop Blacader founded a perpetual chaplaincy at the

altar of the tomb that had been erected by his brother, Patrick Blacader of Tullialan, Knight (*in honore Beati Kentigerni, Confessoris et Patroni, ad altare ejusdem per dilectum suum germanum dominum Patricium Blacader de Tullialane, militem, in ecclesia inferiori prope tumbam ejusdem beatissimi fund-*

atum) (A 486). A protocol, of date October 1513, shows that Sir William Gartshore, perpetual chaplain of the chaplaincy of St Kentigern,

¹ In the protocols 613 and 653, it is called the *bassa ecclesia*: in this instrument it is called the *inferior ecclesia*, as also in A 455.—A crypt is a vault beneath a building, either entirely or partly underground. This term is never applied in any of the old deeds to the lower church of Glasgow.

founded at his altar in the lower church, by the deceased Sir Patrick Blacader, Knight, resigned the said chaplaincy into the hands of James, Archbishop of Glasgow, unconditionally (B 653).

Mention of this altar and tomb is made in an instrument of sasine of Sir Nicholas Hall, vicar of Peebles, and conservator of the lights of St Mary in the lower church of Glasgow, and of the tomb of St Kentigern. It shows that David Hynde, a Glasgow burgess, in the year 1460, burdened a tenement on the north side of the Fuller's Street (*in vico Fullonum ex parte boreali*), with an annual charge of 12d. for the upkeep and repairing of these lights (A 386).

The remains of St Tenew, mother of St Kentigern, were buried within this chapel, and allusion is made to her in the document by which, in 1475, King James III. confirms to the church of Glasgow the 3 stones of wax that in times past had been a charge upon the lands of Bothwell, before they came into the king's hands (A 407). It says: "We, unwilling in future to injure the said church in its rights, have given, granted and mortified, and by virtue of the present deed, on account of the great devotion we have to St Kentigern, Confessor, and to his mother St Tenew, and to the said Cathedral church, we give, grant, and mortify, to the said Cathedral church of Glasgow, 3 stones of wax yearly, to be raised from the lands of Odingstoune, for ever, for the lights of St Kentigern, Confessor, and of St Tenew, his mother; *i.e.*, two stones and a half for the lights of the said confessor, over his tomb and altar (*super sepultura sua et constructione ejusdem*) in the said Cathedral church; and half-a-stone of the wax for the tomb of the said St Tenew, and the erection over it in the chapel where her remains rest (*super sepultura dictæ Sanctæ Tenew ac constructione super eadem sepultura facta in capella ubi ossa hujusmodi Sanctæ requiescunt*): these three stones of wax to be had, and held for the said Cathedral church of Glasgow and for the said chapel of St Tenew, from the aforesaid lands of Odingstoune."

For thirteen years these 3 stones of wax seem to have been regularly paid. But in 1496 Mr John Gibson, chamberlain of Glasgow and canon, and Sir Robert Clark, sacristan, at the order of the archbishop, came to the authority of Bothwell and the lands of Uddingston, bringing with them a copy of the above deed of mortification, and asking for the 3 stones of wax for the current year, and also for the last seven years, during which it had not been paid (A 472).

The document (A 478) also having reference to this donation of wax refers twice to the chapel of St Thanew.

2. Passing to the east end of the lower church, the east aisle or ambulatory leads to four chapels. The one to the north, and near the entrance to the chapter-house, was the chapel of St Nicholas. Mr Michael Fleming, a canon, founded in 1488, the half of a chaplaincy at the altar of St Nicholas in the lower church. It was to be served by the vicars of the choir, by celebrating mass thrice a week. The endowment was an annual income of five merks, 4s. 8d., with 20s. more on occasion of the anniversary of the founder (A 455). The protocol (B 152) narrates that in March 1505, *i.e.*, seventeen years later, Mr Michael Flemyn, canon of Glasgow, and prebendary of Ancrum, bought an annual rent of 8s. from some land lying in St Tenew's Croft, for the sum of eight merks. David Lindsay, a bailie of Glasgow, who was employed in the negotiation, gave sasine of the said annual rent to Mr William Brown, chaplain, procurator of the vicars of the choir of Glasgow, as an augmentation of the half chaplaincy founded by the said Mr Michael at the altar of St Nicholas in the lower church of Glasgow. (See B 118.)

3. The next chapel to the right was the chapel of Ss. Peter and Paul. In the founder's deed the site of this chapel is made clear. In the year 1498, Thomas Forsyth, canon of the cathedral church of Ross, and prebendary of Logie, founded a perpetual chaplaincy at the east end of the lower church of the cathedral of Glasgow, at the altar of Ss. Peter and Paul, situated between the altars of St Nicholas on the north side and of St Andrew on the south side (*in ecclesia inferiori metropolitana Glasguensi in parte orientali ejusdem, ad altare Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, inter Sanctorum Nicolai ex parte boreali et Andree altaria ex parte australi situm*) (A 480). The endowment is given at length.

An instrument (B 532) shows the consent of Robert Forman, dean, and other thirteen canons representing the capitular body, to the foundation of the deceased Mr Thomas Forsyth, canon of Ross, at St Peter's altar in the lower church of Glasgow. This took place in the chapter-house, on 11th June 1511. Mr Thomas Forsyth, in April 1506, conferred this chaplaincy on his cousin, Sir Thomas Forsyth, and by actual delivery of his biretta gave him corporal possession thereof (B 154).

4. The next altar was St Andrew's. In addition to the altar of St Andrew in the upper church, already recorded under No. 11, the apostle of Scotland had a chapel in the lower church, as already pointed out.

5. The chapel at the south-east corner was dedicated to St John the Evangelist. Mention is made of this altar in an instrument (B 612) by which George Colquhoun acknowledges that he had received, upon the altar of St John the Evangelist, in the lower church of Glasgow, one hundred merks from Matthew, Earl of Lennox, for the redemption of the half of the lands of Baldoran. The date is given as 1512. The editors of the Grampian Club volume think that this altar "stood at the north end, next the entrance to Bishop Lauder's Crypt" (B 451).

X. Another altar in the lower church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. This was her second altar in the church; the first has been spoken of under No. 6. It is mentioned in a document by a public notary, John Hawyk, in 1429, in which Bishop Cameron, on account of the provision for the canons being too slender, with the consent of the chapter, made over for the purpose of increasing their common distributions, the parish church of Libertoun in the Glasgow diocese. "This was done in the Glasgow Cathedral, before the altar of our Lady the B. V. Mary, in the lower church, the canons being assembled there in chapter" (A 334). This altar is also mentioned in some instructions concerning the sacristan and the altar-cloths of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the lower church (A 384).

David, the son of Walter Hamilton, Knight, in the year 1361, gave "to God and especially to the B. Virgin Mary and to St Kentigern, confessor, and to all the Saints, and to the perpetual Chaplain serving the altar of the B. Virgin Mary, in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, for his support ten merks sterling from the property of my barony of Kynnele in the County of Edinburgh." He and his heirs after him were to present a suitable chaplain, to celebrate at this altar, within a month from the time a vacancy might occur; failing which nomination within the month, the presentation was to pass for that occasion to the dean and chapter of the church (A 297).

In a document, of date 1290, in which it is recorded that a burgess of Glasgow, Finlay Jager, sold a house and garden, it is incidentally mentioned that a former burgess named Robert, and his wife Christina, gave some land for the maintenance of the lights of the Blessed Virgin Mary in *le crudt* of the greater church of Glasgow (A 237). Another document speaks of land devoted to this purpose (*terra luminaris beatæ Mariæ in capella inferius*) (A 248). As the word *crudis* means the same, this altar received from Walter, the son of Gilbert, a number of vestments, a silver chalice gilt, cruets, and a silver thurible: "given for the love of

God, and the good of my soul and of Mariote my wife, and for the soul of Helen my former wife, and for the souls of my predecessors and my successors" (*Altari B. Marie Virginis in ecclesia Cathedrali Glasguensi in le crudis*) (A 268).¹

An instrument, of date 1511, narrates that Sir Thomas Coningham, chaplain appointed to the altar of St Mary in the lower church, and to sing and serve in the choir of Glasgow with the other vicars of the choir, by the late Sir David, the son of Walter, Knight,² Lord of Kinneyle, took the oath, before the dean and some other canons sitting in chapter, to serve and sing in the choir of Glasgow with the other choristers, and to observe the terms of his foundation in all respects (B 534).

Another, of date December 1513, narrates the admission by the president and chapter of Glasgow, done by placing the biretta on his head, of Sir Patrick Law, presbyter, to the perpetual chaplaincy founded at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the lower church, vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Coningham, and at the presentation of James, Earl of Arran (B 658).

When to the twenty-four altars in the higher church the six in the lower church are added, it gives thirty altars, almost the same as the number of canons.

In addition to the vestments and church plate, etc., already alluded to under No. 1, it may be noticed that in 1320 some vestments were given for one altar in the lower church (A 267); and that in the year 1401, on account of the great need of a better supply of such furnishings, Bishop Matthew Glendoning, with the consent of the dean and chapter, ordained that in future each newly-appointed canon should give a certain sum from his prebend for purchasing copes, dalmatics, tunics, and other ornaments. In taxing each prebend according to its value, it was arranged that Cadzow, Kilbride, Campsie, Carnwath, Menar, Merbottle, Cadder, Glasgow 1°, and Barlanark should give 5 pounds, Glasgow 2° 2 merks,

¹ The word "crouds" or "shrouds" is explained in the "Glossary of Architecture" as a vaulted underbuilding; e.g., "as the croudes or shroudes of Paules, called St Faithe's Church," in allusion to St Faith's Church, under old St Paul's, London. It quotes "Will. of Worcester," p. 201, "*Via ab ecclesia Sti Nicholai cum 5 gressibus area dicte ecclesie ad introitum ecclesie volte vocate le crowd.*" In a ship the shrouds are the range of ropes extending from the head of a mast to the sides of the ship to support the mast: so in a lower church it applied to the pillars and vaulting that supports the superincumbent church.

² This was the ancestor of the ducal house of Hamilton.

Renfrew 3 pounds, Govan 40s., Carstairs 2 merks, Moffet 5 pounds, Erskine 40s., Dorisder 3 pounds, Edelston 3 pounds, Stobo 5 pounds, Ayr 5 pounds, Old Roxburgh 3 pounds, Cardross 40s., Ancrum 40s., and Ashkirk 40s. (A 320).

All the church plate, vestments, and ornaments were under the care of two sacristans. A deed, dated 12th May 1459, drawn up by Bishop Muirhead and the chapter, makes arrangements for the office of sacristan; for a house and income for him, and details his duties (A 384). At the entrance to the choir there were presses¹ in which were kept the vestments belonging to the High Altar, the altars of the Holy Cross, and of St Catherine, and of St Martin in the higher church, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the lower. The sacristan was one of the canons, and held the prebend of Cumnock.

The senior sacristan, called "Major Sacrista," is named in the documents A 485 and 495, and the sub-sacristan was "Sacrista minor" (A 468). In June 1507, Mr Patrick Elphinstoun, prebendary of Erskine, canon of Glasgow, and senior sacristan (Major), presented for the office of sub-sacristan (Minor) in the church, vacant by the death of William Denby, to the president and chapter, to whom the right of admission lawfully belonged (B 240), Wm. Elphinstone. He resigned the office, and in March 1509 Mr Patrick Elphinstoun presented Nicholas Rede to the office (B 412). The presentation to the office of assistant sacristan seems to have belonged to the holder of the prebend of Erskine (B 380). The sub-sacristan was, by an arrangement described in B 152, to receive 12d. for the yearly ringing of the bells on the anniversary of the funeral of Mr Michael Fleming and his parents. This Mr Fleming is the one spoken of above under No. 2, page 319.

There seems to have been an official known as the church keeper (*custos ecclesie*); and James Lindsay, dean of Glasgow, the founder of the chaplaincy of SS. Stephen and Laurence, in the provision he made for the annual obit on his anniversary, left for the sub-sacristan 2s., and for the church keeper 3s., for two new wax candles to be made by him, new each

¹ At this time, and up to the change made by Archbishop Blacader, there were three entrances into the choir from the nave through a screen. The document A 384 mentions the "*ingresum ad chorum per tres transitus, Anglice et vulgariter nuncupatos gēma Duris*." These double doors present some difficulty, but the passage shows that some of the church vestments were kept in presses inside the choir and on each side of the screen (*infra illam clausuram seu ingressum ad chorum in choro et ex utroque laterē ejusdem chori*).

year, and to be used as lights in the choir at the time of this obit and mass (A 441).

Amongst the other ancient arrangements in the church, it must be mentioned that in the choir there were presses for the books used in the church services (A 339), and also some presses for books in the nave. The rest of the books belonging to the cathedral were kept in the library, which was in the upper story of the south-west tower.

From the above notes it will be seen how complete was the equipment of the church, with its thirty-two canons, its body of cathedral vicars, and its thirty altars. When he had added seven more prebendaries to the previous twenty-four canons, Bishop Cameron, as is recorded, went with the chapter in solemn and majestic procession to the cathedral, twelve officials carrying his staff and eleven silver maces, the bells of the two steeples ringing, and the organ accompanying the singing of the choir.

In its beauty, internal and external, before the barbarous removal of the two western towers in 1845, it could be called, as was said of Elgin, "the pride of the land, the glory of the realm, the delight of wayfarers and strangers, a praise and boast among foreign nations, lofty in its towers without, splendid in its appointments within, its countless jewels and rich vestments, and the multitude of its priests"; yet the beauty of the king's daughter was greatest from within, as King James IV. represented to the Pope in 1490, that Glasgow "surpassed all the other cathedral churches of his realm by its structure, its learned men, its foundation, its ornaments, and other very noble prerogatives."

All the altars and their vestments and furnishings, the rood over the screen, the stalls with their canopied work, the sculptures and the painted glass, were destroyed in 1559. At this time of general destruction, an order was given for the destruction of the altars and sculptures, but with the proviso that "you take good heed that neither the desks, windows, or doors be any-wise hurt or broken, either glass work or iron work." Lord Glencairn conducted the work here, and when a mob is let loose, how vain are provisos or restrictions as to sparing windows or doors! All the other cathedrals on the mainland were wrecked and destroyed during that convulsion; Glasgow alone remained. It reminds us of the message that came to Job, and said, "a violent wind came on a sudden from the side of the desert, and shook the four corners of the house, and it fell upon thy children, and they are dead; and I alone have escaped" (Job i. 19).

THE BISHOP'S CASTLE

By A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A. Scot.



Bishop Cameron's Arms, from the Great Tower of the Castle.

MORE than a century has elapsed since the last vestige of the Bishop's Castle—often designated the “Archbishop's Palace”—was removed from the site which it had occupied for five hundred years. Little is known regarding the appearance of this building in its prosperous days. In Slezer's view of Glasgow, drawn probably in 1678, though not published till 1690, which is reproduced on page 326, the Bishop's Castle is shown as a Scottish baronial structure standing to the north-west of the Cathedral, surrounded by a high wall, and with an elaborate turreted gateway or Port at the south-east angle of the wall, nearly opposite the gate that now leads to the Cathedral yard. At the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 there was shown an oil-painting of the ruins of the Castle, painted by A. Henderson, *circa* 1770,

and a lithograph by Allan from this painting is reproduced in the volume entitled "Scottish National Memorials," in which the antiquities shown at the Exhibition are described. Dr J. F. S. Gordon, in his "Glasghu Facies," gives drawings of the Castle and the Port, chiefly constructed from descriptions. There is also the very beautiful engraving of the Cathedral and Archbishop's Palace, from a drawing by T. Hearne, published in 1783, which is reproduced in the present work (p. 342). This is the very latest glimpse obtainable of the faded grandeur of this historical building, as the Castle ruin was wholly removed in 1789 to make way for the Royal Infirmary. The late Mr James Sellars, architect, reconstructed a full-size model of the Bishop's Castle, which was erected in the grounds of Kelvin Grove at the time of the Exhibition of 1888, and was used as a Museum of Antiquities during the currency of the Exhibition. Though the details of this structure were largely derived from untechnical descriptions and fragmentary drawings of the ruins, it is probable that the model of the "Bishop's Castle" in the Exhibition grounds presented the actual appearance of the ancient fortress in its most prosperous time.

There is so little authentic information attainable regarding the Castle, that any theory as to its original form and later extensions must be conjectural. The following description is put forward tentatively as the result of a careful examination of all the available evidence.

The Bishop's Castle and garden stood in that open space between the Cathedral and the present Castle Street, now called Infirmary Square. It is likely that the original Castle consisted merely of a square tower or keep surrounded by a fosse, and

occupied a situation about midway between the western gable of the Cathedral and the old frontage line of Castle Street. This primitive building, erected about the middle of the thirteenth century, was greatly extended in later times, and previous to the Reformation the Castle had developed into a splendid structure, built on the Z-plan, enclosed by a wall fifteen feet high, with five circular towers at various angles in the irregular course of



Glasgow Cathedral and Bishop's Castle as it appeared in 1678, from Capt. Slezzer's "*Theatrum Scotiæ*."

the wall, and having an embattled Gate-house or Port at the south-eastern corner, which latterly formed the main entrance to the grounds. The Cathedral yard was enclosed by a wall having a gate at the extreme south-west angle, and the wall of the Castle on the east side confronted the Cathedral wall, forming a passage known as "the Vicar's Alley." A circular tower was built at the north-east corner of the wall, almost on the site of the present front of the Royal Infirmary, and a similar tower

was at the north-western corner of the wall, where there was a guard-house and gateway known as "the Stable-green Port."¹ Between these two points the course of the wall to the north and west formed a wide obtuse angle, the apex of which was about the middle of the site of the front Infirmary block. The stables stood within the wall beside the Stable-green Port. The wall took a southern course from this point till nearly opposite St Nicholas Hospital, where another circular wall-tower stood. Here the wall turned to the south-east, and a similar tower with battlements was formed in its course, beside the splendid square tower built by Bishop Cameron about the middle of the fifteenth century. Thence the wall was carried in a slightly curved course to the south-eastern corner of the site, where stood the principal port or gateway. The ground enclosed by this wall was laid out as an orchard and garden, and in the open space at the north-east angle stood the gallows-stone, beside which executions took place till near the close of last century.

No specific description of the Castle or Palace is known to exist. It seems likely that its first purpose was defensive, and latterly, when its glory had passed away, it was used as a prison for political offenders, and afterwards for common malefactors. Its story can be traced by references found in the national and burghal history.

The very earliest reference to an episcopal residence in this locality appears in the Chartulary of Glasgow, transcribed by Hamilton of Wishaw and published in the Appendix to his "Account

¹ The exact site of the Stable-green Port has long been matter of controversy. It has been suggested that the Port was at the south-western tower in the wall of the Bishop's Castle, nearly opposite the old building that has been recently identified as the "Laird of Provan's Lodging" in Castle Street. The last remains of the Stable-green Port were removed in 1771.

of the Shyres of Renfrew and Lanark," which was issued by the Maitland Club in 1832. Hamilton quotes a charter of 1258 in which the Bishop alludes to *palacium suum quod est extra castrum Glasguense*. From this phrase it is evident that there was a Castle of Glasgow in existence, as well as a *palacium* outside of that building. The Castle was, no doubt, the square keep or "peel" already referred to. The Latinised word *palacium* does not mean a "palace," as it has often been translated, but merely a "place," or, in the old Scots language, a "ludging," and is most frequently applied to a mansion of ordinary dimensions. For instance, at Culross, in Fife, the old mansion of Sir George Bruce is constantly called "the Palace" in the locality, and of course an absurd tradition has arisen to the effect that it was once a royal residence. The mistake arose from the ignorance of a proprietor in last century, who found the word *palacium* in some of the old deeds, and jumped to an over-hasty conclusion. The *palacium* of the Bishop in 1258 was probably a very modest dwelling, which he possessed in addition to the Castle. Upon two occasions, on the death of Bishop Bondington in 1258, and also ten years later, the Canons of the Cathedral agreed that if any of them were elected Bishop, he should remove the Palace which stood outside the Castle, and give the space, with some other ground, for manses for the prebendaries. At neither date, however, does the resolution appear to have been carried out.¹

Though no absolute proof is obtainable as to the builder of either Palace or Castle, a very reasonable conjecture may be hazarded. The only "building Bishop" of this period was William de Bond-

¹ Cosmo Innes, "Sketches," p. 45, note.

ington, who held the See from 1233 till 1258. He completed the erection of the Cathedral, and founded the Blackfriars' Monastery in High Street, and it is very probable that he employed the workmen engaged on the Cathedral to build both the Monastery and the Castle. The date of the Castle may therefore be reasonably given as about 1250. From the remains of the few Scottish castles of that period—Kinclaven, Inverlochy, and Lochindorb, for instance—it may be conjectured that the original Bishop's Castle was a quadrangular structure, surrounded by a moat, intended as a protected retreat for the ecclesiastics during that lawless time. Like Kinclaven, it may have been a simple square tower, with strongly-built walls, or, like Inverlochy, it may have had circular towers at the corners of a rectangular building. On this point there is absolutely no evidence whatever now extant. There is proof that there was a Bishop's garden in 1268, and the Bishop's Castle is mentioned in 1290.

Robert Wishart, who was Bishop of Glasgow from 1272 till 1316, is noted in the annals of the See as making provision for episcopal residences in various parts of the country. In 1304 he petitioned Edward I. for timber to build houses at Ancrum and Castellstarris (Carstairs), intending to make these rural mansions for the bishops.¹ It may be supposed, therefore, that he would seek to improve and extend his principal residence beside the Cathedral; and it is not incredible that he may have made the first important extension of the Castle, though no definite proof has been found to support the conjecture. Bishop Rae (1335-67) is said by tradition to have built the bridge over the Clyde

¹ "Catalogue of Documents relating to Scotland," vol. ii. p. 433.

near the site of the present Victoria Bridge,¹ and Bishop Lauder (1408–25) proceeded with the Chapter-house and tower of the Cathedral, but no mention is made of their having enlarged the Castle. John Cameron, who succeeded Lauder in the bishopric, and ruled the See from 1426 till 1446, is the



Sculptured Stone, the Arms of Archbishop Beaton, from the wall of the Bishop's Castle, now built into the porch of St. Joseph's Chapel, North Woodside Road.

first whose name is unquestionably connected with the Castle. He built the great tower at the south-western corner of the Castle wall about the year 1438, after he had resigned the office of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. M'Ure, writing in 1736, refers to the arms of Bishop Cameron being then visible, carved on a stone in the tower; and a sketch of this sculptured stone, reproduced from a drawing made in 1752, is given in Dr J. F. S. Gordon's

"Glasghu Facies," p. 63, and also in the same editor's "Scotichronicon," vol. ii. p. 501, and appears in the initial letter of the present chapter. Archbishop James Beaton, who held the See from 1508 till 1522, is said to have augmented Bishop Cameron's

¹ See *ante*, p. 85.

tower, and to have enclosed the Palace with an embattled wall, 15 feet high, his connection with this part of the work having been shown by the existence of sculptured stones at various parts of the wall bearing the arms of Beaton. The course of this wall has already been described. The date usually given for its erection is 1510. A stone bearing the arms of Beaton, which had evidently been taken from the Palace, was built into the wall of an old house in North Woodside Road; and when this house was pulled down in 1869, the stone was placed in the Roman Catholic Chapel of St Joseph, where it is still preserved. The completion of the buildings connected with the Palace was effected when the Port or Gate-house was erected during the rule of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, some time between 1524 and 1547. Dr Gordon thus describes the Port in his "*Scotichronicon*," vol. ii. p. 503, and gives a reproduction of a sketch of the ruined structure, made in 1752:—

"The Gate-house, the gables of which terminated at the roof in a flight of crow-steps, was of a square form, and displayed an embattled front, flanked by two circular towers, and each of these contained an upright oblong compartment. The parapets were supported by a double row of die-shaped corbels, the under side of which, according to the prevailing custom, was machicolated for the purposes of defence."

This Port was the main entrance to the Palace grounds. It stood at the south-eastern extremity of the wall, facing the entrance to the Cathedral grounds, which were then also enclosed by a wall. It has been doubted whether this Port was erected by Archbishop Dunbar. The only evidence bearing on the subject is a sculptured stone bearing the royal arms of Scotland with the initials of James V., the arms of Dunbar of Mochrum on a shield surmounted by a crosier, and a third shield with the arms of James

Houston, Sub-Dean of Glasgow. When the Palace was in process of demolition in 1755, this stone was removed by Charles Selkirk, and built into the tenement which he erected in 1760 near the

south-east corner of High Street and Gallowgate, now 22 High Street. About twenty-five years ago Bailie Millar, then proprietor of this tenement, presented the sculptured stone to the late Sir William Dunbar of Mochrum, Bart., by whom it was built into the family mansion at Mochrum Park. It is here reproduced from a photograph kindly lent by Sir Uthred Dunbar, the present baronet of Mochrum. Referring to the stone, Mr Macgeorge in his "Old Glasgow," p. 110, writes:—



Heraldic Stone from Gatehouse of Castle, now at Mochrum Park, Wigtownshire.

"On the upper stone are the arms of Scotland with the supporting unicorns, and this portion, I have no doubt, was erected by Dunbar himself, for it bears the initial of the reigning sovereign—'I 5'—(James V.), who died in 1542 while the Archbishop was living. On the lower portion are two shields. On the one are sculptured the paternal arms of Dunbar. He was of the family of Mochrum, de-

scended from Randulf, Earl of Moray, and the arms are those of that noble family,—or, three cushions within a double tressure flory and counterflory gules, with a mullet for difference. Underneath this shield is the salmon with the ring in its mouth. On the lower shield are the arms of James Houston, Sub-Dean of Glasgow, being those of Houston of that ilk, viz., or, a chevron chequé sable and argent between three martlets of the second, with a rose in chief for difference. On each side of these shields is an ornamental pillar."

The reasoning by which Mr Macgeorge arrives at the conclusion that the upper part of the stone was erected by the Archbishop and the lower part by the Sub-Dean is not very cogent. It is perfectly evident from the style of the sculpture that the three shields are of the same date. The pillars form an essential part of the design. It is incredible that a minor official like the Sub-Dean should have been permitted to intrude his armorial bearings upon a structure erected by the Archbishop; but, on the other hand, it is perfectly reasonable that if the Port were erected at the expense of the Sub-Dean, he should have put above his own armorial bearings the arms of the reigning king and of the Archbishop under whom he held office. Was James Houston in a position to execute such a work, or was he likely to undertake it? Certainly he was. His name appears repeatedly in the "Diocesan Registers of Glasgow," where he is mentioned as succeeding Roland Blacader as Sub-Dean. His first office was that of chaplain at the altar of St Kentigern in 1507, and previous to the death of Archbishop Beaton he was Sub-Dean under Dean Robert Forman. In 1523 he was Vicar of Eastwood, and in 1527 he was Incumbent of the Rectory of Monkland. His greatest benefaction to the Cathedral was the founding of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin and St Anne (afterwards the Tron Church), which work was accomplished in 1530. It is reasonable to suppose that the workmen employed in the erection of that church would be engaged to build the Port at the Archbishop's Palace; and thus the date of the latter structure may be inferred. Beyond question, the sculptured stone was put up subsequent to 1527, the date of Archbishop Dunbar's consecration, and before the death of James V. in 1542; so that 1530 is a very likely

date, and it agrees with other circumstances. James Houston died in 1550.

No further record is known to exist of any later additions to the Archbishop's Palace. After the Reformation the Palace had a very chequered existence. It was used occasionally as a residence by the Protestant Archbishops, and was subsequently utilised as a prison. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had fallen into a state of ruin, and in 1755 the Magistrates gave permission to Robert Tennant to use such of the stones as he should require to build the new hotel in the Gallowgate called the Saracen's Head Inn. Some of the stones were also used in the building of the Royal Infirmary, and these two structures are the only relics of the stately Palace of the Archbishops of Glasgow.

The first event in Scottish national history with which the Castle is associated rests upon the insecure basis of tradition.

Robert Wishart, who was Bishop of Glasgow from 1272 till 1316, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296 ; but the encroachments upon Scottish liberty made by that monarch led the Bishop to renounce his allegiance to Edward, and he became one of the patriotic leaders of the revolt against English supremacy organised by Sir William Wallace. When this insurrection broke out in the west in 1297, Edward sent a hasty order to Anthony Bek, "the fighting Bishop of Durham," directing him to advance upon Glasgow while Wallace was engaged besieging the Castle of Ayr. There had long been a dispute between the See of Durham and that of Glasgow on the question of superiority, and Bek saw an opportunity of settling it finally by the sword. Accordingly, he led his army to Glasgow, besieged the Bishop's Castle in Wishart's

absence, and made himself master of that stronghold. News of this misadventure was brought to Wallace, and he at once raised the siege of Ayr and marched towards Glasgow by night. Arrived at the burgh, Wallace divided his little army into two columns, placing one of them under the command of his uncle, the Laird of Auchinleck, and appointing Sir Robert Boyd as the leader of the other column. The English garrison occupied the Castle, under the personal command of Bishop Bek. Auchinleck led his troops towards the Castle by way of St Mungo's Lane and the Drygate, while Wallace and Boyd advanced up the High Street. A sally was made by the English soldiers against the troops of Boyd, and a fierce encounter took place at that part of the High Street called "the Bell o' the Brae." Though the English soldiers numbered 1000 men in armour, and Wallace had only 300 cavalry, the Scots were victorious; for the column under Auchinleck joined the fray at the critical moment, and turned the tide of war. Bishop Bek was forced to evacuate the Castle, and, accompanied by Sir Aymer de Valance, he made his way speedily to Bothwell, and thence to England, leaving the Castle in the hands of Wallace.

The only authority for this romantic story is Blind Harry the Minstrel. None of the Scottish historians makes mention of the incident, and the minstrel's tale is so much mixed up with evident inaccuracies and fictions—such as the statement that Wallace slew Percy there by a single blow of his sword—that the credibility of the story is thereby impaired. It is not likely that 1000 men could be accommodated in the diminutive square keep which was then "the Castle of Glasgow," for it has been calculated that the whole of the inhabitants of the burgh at

that time did not exceed 1500 souls, and so large a garrison would never have been sent to this place while war was raging in another part of the country. The passage in Blind Harry's "Wallace"¹ in which the capture of the Castle is described may here be quoted. After relating that Percy had withdrawn from Ayr to Glasgow, and had taken the Castle in company with Bek, the news was carried to Wallace at Ayr by Boyd:—

Quhen Wallace men was weill togydder met,
 "Gud freyndis," he sayd, "ye knaw that thair wes set
 Sic law as this now in to Glaskow toune,
 By bischope Beik, and Persye of renoun.
 Tharfor I will in haist we thidder fair;
 Off our gud kyn [sum] part ar lossyt thair."
 He gert full sone the burges till him caw,
 And gaif command in generall to thaim aw.
 In kepyng thai suld tak the houss of Ayr,
 And "hald it haill quhill tyme that we her mayr;
 To byd our King castellys I wald we had;
 Cast we doun all, we mycht be demyt our rad."
 Thai gart meit cum, for thai had fastyt lang;
 Litill he tuk, syne bownit thaim to gang.
 Horsis thai cheyss, that Sotheroun had brocht thar,
 Anew at will, and off the toune can fair.
 Thre hundreth haill wes in his cumpany,
 Rycht wondir fast raid this gud chewalry
 To Glaskow brig, that byggyt wes off tre;
 Weyll passit our or Southeroun mycht thaim se.
 Lorde Persye wyeht, that besy wes in wer,
 Semblyt his men fell awfull in affer.
 Than demyt thai that it wes wicht Wallace,
 He had befor chapyt throw mony cace.
 The byschope Beik, and Persye that wes wicht,
 A thousand led off men in armyss bricht.
 Wallace saw weill quhat nowmyr semblit thar,
 He made his men in twa partis to fair;
 Graithit thaim weill without the townys end.
 He callit Awchinlek, for he the passage kend.
 "Wncle," he said "be besy in to wer.
 Quhethir will yhe the byschoppys tail wpber,

¹ Book VII. line 515.

Or pass befor, and tak his benysone ? ”
 He ansuered hym, with rycht schort provision,
 “ Wnbyschoppyt yeit, for suth I trow ye be ;
 Your selff sall fyrst his blyssyng tak for me ;
 For sekyrly ye seruit best the nyght.
 To ber his taill we sall in all our mycht.”
 Wallace ansuered : “ Sen we mon sindry gang,
 Perell thar is an ye bid fra ws lang ;
 For yone ar men will nocht sone be agast.
 Frae tyme we meit for Goddis [saik] haist you fast.
 Our disseueryng I wald na Sotherane saw ;
 Behynd thaim cum, in [throw] the Northeast raw.
 Gud men off wer ar all Northummyrland.”
 Thai partand thus tuk othir be the hand.
 Awchinlek said : “ We sall do at we may ;
 We wald ilk ill to byd oucht lang away.
 A boustous staill betwix ws sone mon be ;
 Bot to the rycht all mychty God haiff E.”
 Adam Wallace and Awchinlik wes boune,
 Sewyn scoir with thaim, on the baksid the toun.
 Rycht fast thai yeid, quhill thai war out off sycht ;
 The tothir pairt arrayit thaim full rycht,
 Wallace and Boid the playne streyt wp can ga.
 Southeroun marweld becauss thai saw na ma ;
 Thar senyhe cryit vpon the Persys syde,
 With bischop Beik that bauldly durst abide.
 A sayr semlay was at that metyng seyne,
 As fyr on flynt it ferryt thaim betweyne.
 The hardy Scottis rycht awfully thaim abaid ;
 Brocht feill to grounde throuch weid that weill wes maid ;
 Perssytt plattis with poyntis stiff off steill ;
 Be fors of hand gert mony cruell kneill.
 The strong stour raiss, as reik, vpon thaim fast,
 Or myst, throuch sone, vp to the cloudis past.
 To help thaim selff ilkayne had mekill neid.
 The worthy Scottis stud in fellone dreid ;
 Yet forthwart ay thai pressit for to be,
 And thai on thaym, gret wondyr wes to se.
 The Perseis men, in wer wes oysit weill,
 Rycht fersly faucht, and sonyeit nocht adeill.
 Adam Wallace and Awchinlek com in,
 And partyt Sotheron rycht sodeynly in twyn ;
 Raturnd to thaim as noble men in wer.
 The Scottis gat rowme, and mony doun thai ber ;
 The new cowntir assailyeit thaim sa fast,
 Throuch Inglissmen maid sloppys at the last.

Than Wallace self, in to that felloun thrang,
 With his gud swerd, that hewy wes and lang,
 At Perseis face with a gud will he bar;
 Baith bayne and brayne the forgyt steill throw schair.
 Four hundreth men, quhen lord Persie wes dede
 Out of the gait the bysschope Beik thai lede,
 For than thaim thocht it wes no tyme to bid,
 By the Frer Kyrk, till a wode fast besyd.

This story is related with so much circumstantiality and in such a spirited style, that one would almost wish to believe it true. But there are incidents mentioned which are certainly fabulous. Henry de Percy, ninth feudal lord, succeeded to the title in 1272; was summoned to Parliament in 1299; acquired the barony of Alnwick from Bishop Bek in 1309; and survived till 1315.¹ He was certainly not slain by Wallace at the siege of Glasgow. On the other hand, the narrator is so precise in his reference to localities near the burgh, that it is not improbable some tradition of a fray in the High Street of Glasgow had come to him. It is certain that Bishop Bek made a precipitate retreat to England about this time, which gives countenance to the notion that he had received a severe check while he was at Glasgow. But though there may be a substratum of truth in Blind Harry's legend, it is evident that the poet has overlaid the facts with a rich embroidery of fiction. The critics who have examined the story point to the fact that when Edward I. visited Glasgow in 1301, he did not take up his quarters in the Castle, which he certainly would have done had it been capable of accommodating 1000 men-at-arms, but he resided at the Blackfriars Monastery, a place not built for defensive purposes. Hailes

¹ Rogers' "Book of Wallace," vol. ii. p. 300.

in his "Annals," i. 250, relates how Wallace took and burned the Castle out of revenge for Wishart's desertion at Irvine in 1297. This statement is founded on a passage in Hemingford (ii. 133), but it is doubtful if it refers to the Castle at Glasgow. Dr Charles Rogers suggests that the incident, if credible, must have occurred subsequent to the battle of Stirling.¹

For many years after this time the Bishops were permitted to occupy the Castle in peace, and to extend the buildings and improve the gardens by which these were surrounded. But these very extensions made the Castle a coveted stronghold in times of intestinal war. The high wall which Archbishop Beaton built around the Castle in 1510 had rendered it so valuable that it was used by James IV. as a military dépôt.² After the death of that monarch at Flodden in 1513, a contest arose regarding the Regency. John Stewart, Duke of Albany, and grandson of James II., was invited to become Regent during the minority of James V., and he assumed that office in May 1515. His appointment was very unpopular, and some of the leading West-country noblemen—the Earls of Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn—banded together for the purpose of resisting the Regent. Archbishop Beaton was then Chancellor of Scotland, and his Palace at Glasgow was regarded as a centre of influence among Albany's supporters. John Mure of Caldwell, who was married to Lady Janet Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Lennox, was an ardent adherent of the faction opposed to Albany, and he made a strong move to aid the projects of his relative. On 20th February 1515 Mure laid siege to the Castle of Glasgow, in the absence

¹ "Book of Wallace," ii. 126. See *supra*, p. 78.

² "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer," p. 249.

of the Archbishop, and captured the place. He held it only for a short time, for Albany advanced upon Glasgow at the head of a considerable force and compelled Mure to evacuate it.¹ Before the place was abandoned by Mure, his followers sacked and pillaged the Castle. On 4th March 1517 the Archbishop obtained a decree from the Lords of Council against Mure for the damage which his followers had committed. This document is recorded in the Books of Council,² and as the articles destroyed by Mure are detailed, the list gives some idea of the furnishing of an Archbishop's Palace at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The following is a copy of part of the decree, which is printed in the Appendix to Hamilton of Wishaw's "Account of the Shyres of Renfrew and Lanark:"—

"4th March, 1517: In the action and caus persewit at the instance of ane maist reverend fader in God, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, &c. Againis Johnne Mure of Caldwell, for the wrangwis and violent ejection and furth-putting of his servands out of his castell and palice of Glasgow, and taking of the samyn fra them, the 20 day of Februar, the yer of God, 1515. And for the wrangwis spoilation, away-taking, and withholding of thir guds under-written, being in his said castell and palice in the samyn time; that is to say, xxviii feddir beds furnist, xviii verdours, tua arress, vi rufs and courtings of say, and iv of lynning, with mony uther insight guds; claithing, jewells, silkes, precius stanes, veschell, harness, vittales, and uthur guds: And for the wrangwis destruction of his said castell and palice, breking doun of the samyn with artalzary and uthurwis;—The lordis of Counsale decretis and ordanis him to restore and deliver the samyn again to him, or the avale and prices of thame as eftir followis; That is to say, xiii feddir bedds furnist, price of ilka bedd, v marks; xviii verdour bedds, price of the pere xls., xii buird claiths, xii tyn quarts, xii tyn pynts, v dusane of peuder veschell, tua kists, xv swyne, 4 dakyr of salt hyds, vi dusan of salmond, ane last of salt herring, xii tunnes of wyne, ane hingand chandlar, ane gown of scarlett lynit with mertricks, vi barrells of gunpulder, ix gunnis, xiv halberks, xiv steill bonnets, vi halberts, iv crossbowis, &c. &c. The quhilk castell, palice, and guds forsaid pertenet to the said maist reverend fader, and was spulzeit, taken, and intromettit with be the said Johnne

¹ See *supra*, p. 113.

² Vol. xxx. folio 219.

Mure of Caldwell, and his complices; likas was clerly pruvit befor the saidis lordis: Thairfor ordanis lettres to be direct, to compell and distrainzie the said Johnne Mure, his lands and guds tharfor, as effeirs."

The sum which Mure was ordained to pay "for the scaith sustenit be the said reverend fader in the destructioun of the said castell and palice of Glasgow" was 200 marks. Whether this money was ever paid cannot now be ascertained, but the legal proceedings did not deter Mure from making another assault on the Castle. In 1517 the Earl of Lennox and Mure of Caldwell brought an armed force against the place. The defences had been repaired in the interim, and the Archbishop's men were able to hold the Castle until the Duke of Albany marched to their relief and dispersed the insurgents.

* The next warlike incident connected with the Bishop's Castle was also associated with the family of Lennox. John Stewart, third Earl of Lennox, who had twice besieged the Castle, met a violent death in 1526, at the hands of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran, and his eldest son, Matthew, succeeded as fourth Earl of Lennox. When James V. died, leaving only one infant daughter, the disputes as to the Regency were renewed among the Scottish nobles, as they had raged when James V. was himself of tender years. The Earl of Arran, with the aid of Cardinal Beaton, had become Governor, but the Earl of Lennox claimed the position, and had also, as a filial duty, to avenge his father's murder upon the Hamiltons. Accordingly the Earls of Glencairn and Lennox, as on a previous occasion, joined their forces to make a combined attack upon the Castle of Glasgow in 1544, and took the place, after a severe siege with artillery. The Governor Arran, fearing that disaffection

would spread in the West, marched against Glasgow with "a great army." The encounter which ensued on the Gallow-muir is known in history as "the Battle of the Butts," as it was fought at the place where archery wappinschaws were held, on the site of the old Barracks in the Gallowgate. Immediately



Cathedral and Episcopal Palace of Glasgow, from the steel engraving "drawn by J. Hearne, engraved by W. Byrne and T. Medland, the figures by F. Bartolozzi, inscribed to John Crawford, Esq., of Auchinames, Member of Parliament for the City of Glasgow, and published at London, June 2, 1783."

after the battle the Regent invested the Castle, and brought his heaviest artillery to bear upon the walls. The defenders bravely held out for ten days, but at length the garrison capitulated on the promise of quarter and a safe-conduct. No sooner had Arran gained possession of the Castle than he treacherously

gave orders that many of the prisoners should be executed, and his commands were obeyed. A graphic account of this incident is given in Bishop Lesley's "Historie of Scotland," written in 1570, from which it appears that the steeple of the Cathedral was fortified as well as the Castle. The following passage shows that the siege of the Castle was a more important event than might be supposed from the brief space given to it by historians of Scotland:—

"Quhen certane knowlege wes brocht to the Governoure that the Erle of Lenox wes thus suddantlie departed, and that he had fortifiet Glasgw, tending to dissobey his authoritie, suddantlie convenit ane power of his awin freindis, most speciall with the assistance of Lord Boyde, and tuik his jorney towart Glasgw, quhair the Erle of Lenox and Glencarne had convenit gret power of thair frendis for resisting of the persuit of the Governoure, and determinat to meit him furth of the toun of Glasgw, and gif him Battell; bot the Erle of Lenox himself tareit not apoun the straikis, bot departed thairforthe immediatlie befor the battell to Dunbartane Castell, quhair he remaned all the tyme of the feild; and the Erle of Glencarne, accompaneit with the Lairdis Tullibarne, Houstoun, Buchannone, M'Farlan, Drumquhassill, and mony utheris Baronis and gentill men of the Lenox and Barrony of Renfrew and utheris places thairabout, with the hail Burgesses, Communitie, and abill Kirkmen of the citie of Glasgw, come furth of the toun and arrayed thame in Battell apoun the Muir of Glasgw, one mile from the citie apoun the eist pairte thairrof. The Governoure with his army approacheing to thame lychtit upon fuit, and suddantlie both the Armeis with sic forces ran together and joyned, that none culd perfitlie discerne quhilk of thame maid the first onset. It wes crewellie fochin a lang space on ather syd, with uncertane victorie, and gret slauchter on both the sydis. Bot at last the victorie inclyned to the Governoure, and the uther parte wes constraned to gife bakis and flie. There wes on Lenox part slayne mony gentill men, preistis and commons, and speciallie the Laird of Houstoun; and the Laird of Minto, being the provest of Glasgw, wes evill hurt, and mony takin prisoneris. And on the Governoureis syd the Laird of Kamskeyth and Silvertoun hill wes slayne with dyverse utheris. The Governoure following his victorie, entered the toun and besegit the Castell and Steppill, quhilk wes renderit to him. Bot presentlie he causet saxtene gentill men quho kepit the same to be hangit at the Croce of Glasgw, and pardonit the uderis inferioris suddartis. The hoill citie wes spulyeit, and war not the special labouris of the Lord Boyd, quha maid ernist supplicatione to the Governoure for sauftie of the same, the hoile toun with the Bischoppe and Channonis houssis had been all uterlie brint and distroyit."

The earliest portion of the "Register of the Privy Council" which has been preserved is dated June 1545, and it is peculiar that the first Privy Council of Scotland of whose actions an official record is extant met in Glasgow at that time. As Archbishop Dunbar was then a prominent member of the Council, it is extremely probable that this meeting was held in the Castle. The Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, was present, and remained in Glasgow for seven days. One of the orders issued by the Privy Council while at Glasgow was that French money should be taken at its equivalent value throughout Scotland; and the Magistrates were ordained to see that the burgesses and merchants of Glasgow did not overcharge the French soldiers for provisions. This latter injunction implies that there was a French garrison in the city, which would be lodged in the Castle.¹

From its earliest days until the Reformation, Glasgow had been a "Bishop's burgh." The ruling ecclesiastic elected the Provost, Magistrates, and Councillors; the people, gentle and simple, having no voice in the election. Archbishop James Beaton, who was consecrated in 1552, nominated the Bailies of Glasgow in the following year, and the notarial instrument recording this nomination was dated 3rd October 1553, and executed in the "inner flower garden of his Palace in Glasgow."² This was the last occasion on which this right was exercised. When the Archbishop fled to Paris in 1560 he left the duty of nomination to the Earl of Arran, but that nobleman did not exercise it, and

¹ A body of three thousand French infantry and five hundred horse, under the Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie, with a large sum of French money, had landed at Dunbarton shortly previous to this date (Tytler, *sub anno* 1545).—ED.

² See *supra*, p. 124.

thus the burghers gradually came into possession of civic freedom. In 1573 the Protestant Archbishop Boyd sought to revive the right of nomination, but was unsuccessful. The Earl of Lennox assumed this right without any special claim, and thus his kinsmen the Stewarts of Minto were repeatedly Provosts of Glasgow in defiance of the will of the people. In those warlike times it was necessary that the Provost should have a considerable body of soldiers at his command, as he might be called upon at any moment to defend the city by force of arms. For many years the Provostship was in the possession of the Stewarts of Minto, successive members of that family having held the office. It was not until 1606 that the burgesses revolted against the domination of the Stewarts, and elected Sir George Elphinston of Blythswood as Provost by popular vote.¹

The last Provost or ruling Bailie appointed by Archbishop Beaton in 1557-8 was the Earl of Arran (Duke of Chatelherault), upon whom he conferred the office for nineteen years. Arran had made a defensive league with the Archbishop, undertaking to defend him, his goods and servants, from molestation by any one save the reigning sovereign; but when the Reformation seemed to threaten the very existence of the older ecclesiastics Arran broke his engagement, and in 1559 took violent possession of the Castle.² Beaton regained the Castle by the aid of some of the French mercenaries; but in the following year he deemed it prudent to fly to France, carrying with him many of the jewels, relics, and literary records belonging to the Archbishopric. Taking advantage of Beaton's absence, Arran once more occupied the Castle, and it

¹ "Register of the Privy Council" for 1606; Millar's "Quaint Bits of Glasgow," art. 9.

² See *supra*, pp. 125, 126.

remained in his power till the Earl of Lennox succeeded in evicting Arran's retainers.

In May 1568 the Regent Moray appointed Sir John Stewart of Minto, kinsman of the Earl of Lennox, to be keeper of the Castle of Glasgow, directing that the money and victual required for the support of the castellan and his servants should be taken from "the first and reddiest fructis of the bischoprik of Glasgow." The portion set apart for this purpose annually was "v chalderis malt, fyve chalderis meill, tua chalderis of horse corne, and tua hundreth markis money." In 1570, while Sir John Stewart was keeper of the Castle, the Regent Moray was assassinated, and was succeeded in the Regency by the Earl of Lennox, who naturally continued Stewart in this office. Queen Mary was then a prisoner in England, and among other efforts following the death of Moray, the Hamilton faction attempted a diversion in her favour by attacking Glasgow Castle in the absence of the governor; but the place was then so strongly fortified that it was held by a small company of Sir John Stewart's men until the Regent Lennox, with English troops under Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, came to the relief of the fortress.¹

The appointment of James Boyd as Protestant Archbishop in 1573 made it expedient that the Bishop's Castle should be handed over to him; and accordingly, on 9th November in that year, the Privy Council relieved Stewart of his charge and rendered up the Castle to the new Archbishop.²

Though the Castle was thus restored to its original dignity as an Episcopal residence, it does not seem to have been occupied

¹ Tytler, *sub anno*.

² "Reg. Privy Council," vol. ii. p. 301.

by Archbishop Boyd, who may have preferred the country residence at Lochwood to the military fortress in Glasgow. During the time when the Archbishops controlled the civic affairs of Glasgow, the Town Council had been wont to meet within the Castle; but in 1576, after Boyd had been checkmated in his attempt to resume the right of nominating the Provost and Magistrates, it was deemed expedient to transfer the meeting of the Council from the Castle to the Tolbooth at the Cross. Indeed, this move was almost necessary to prevent strife; for the Archbishop had nominated his relative, Robert, Lord Boyd, as Provost, while the Earl of Lennox either occupied the Provost's chair himself, or placed in it one of his kinsmen of the Minto family. The Castle was thus neglected,¹ and it degenerated into a prison for political offenders. Several entries in the "Register of the Privy Council" between 1576 and 1600 allude to offenders who were "warded" in the Castle of Glasgow. When Archbishop Spottiswoode obtained the See in 1603, he sought to restore the Castle to its former glory. Being a "building Bishop"—witness his church and castle at Dairsie in Fife—he made extensive repairs on the structure, and even erected some additional buildings in 1611; but long before that time the revenues of the See had been secularised, and the Archbishop had little income to support the dignity of his office.²

On 3rd November 1587, James VI. had conferred "the lands of Glasgow, with all rights which belonged to the Archbishops of Glasgow," upon Walter Stewart, Commendator of Blantyre, "erecting them into a free lordship and regality, to be called the Regality of Glasgow, and appointing the Castle of Glasgow as the

¹ See footnote, *supra*, p. 140.

² Gordon's "Scotichronicon," vol. i. p. 371.

principal message.”¹ This gift was confirmed in 1591, but on 17th November 1600 the King revoked it, and granted to his kinsman and favourite, Ludovic, second Duke of Lennox, “the Castle of Glasgow, the houses, gardens, greens, and privileges, together with the right to nominate annually Provost, Bailies, and other officers and Magistrates like as the Archbishops formerly had.” The only conditions of this gift were that the Duke should pay a rent of 20 sol. “when required,” and should repair the Castle. On 21st February 1603, the King confirmed this gift to the Duke, reserving “the Castle of Glasgow and pertinents” to the Duke’s second wife, Lady Jean Campbell, daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell of Loudoun.²

There is no record to show that either the Duke of Lennox or his Duchess ever visited the Castle of Glasgow; but there is a very curious charter recorded in the Register of the Great Seal under date March 15, 1603, which implies that the King thought it possible that he might himself reside there. By this document the King confirms to John Stewart of Rosland “one of his chamber-men,” the lands of the White-inch meadow, as well arable as inarable, occupied by the said John. The rent was to be “to the King, in place of the Archbishop of Glasgow, “4 lib., with 60 threaves of straw and 100 stones of hay when-“soever the King shall lodge within the Castle and city of “Glasgow for 40 days, . . . and if for a shorter time, for each “day 1½ threave straw and 4 stones of cheese, or to pay 12 den. “for each threave and 6 den. for each stone.”

It may be doubted whether Archbishop Spottiswoode ever obtained full control of the Bishop’s Castle. The Duchess of

¹ “Reg. Mag. Sig.”

² Ibid.

Lennox died about 1615, and the Duke survived till 1625, and it is strange that no record should exist of a transference of "the Castle and pertinents" to the Archbishop. One would imagine that Spottiswoode,* having only, according to his own statement, one hundred pounds of revenue from the See of Glasgow, would hardly make extensive additions to the Castle "on his own charges." As he was promoted to the See of St Andrews in 1615, there was little time given him for great structural works in Glasgow.

Shortly after Archbishop Spottiswoode's removal the Castle fell into decay ; and here it may be convenient to quote from accounts given by various visitors to Glasgow during the succeeding century, in which references are made to the Castle.

Sir William Brereton, a gentleman of Cheshire, who ultimately became a general in the Parliamentary army, made an extensive tour in Holland, England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1634-35, and wrote a very full account of his travels. This work remained in manuscript till 1844, when it was edited by Mr Hawkins for the Chetham Society. When Brereton visited Glasgow in 1635, Patrick Lindsay was Archbishop, having been promoted from the Bishopric of Ross in 1632. He had three daughters, but it is impossible to say which was the one that entertained Brereton in the Castle, where the Archbishop then resided.

"Here I visited the Archbishop of Glasgow's Palace, which seems a stately structure, and promises much when you look upon the outside. It is said to be the inheritance of the Duke of Lennox, but the archbishops successively made use of it. Here I went to see the hall and palace, and going into the hall, which is a poor and mean place, the archbishop's daughter, an handsome and well-bred proper gentlewoman, entertained me with much civil respect, and would not suffer me to depart until I had drunk Scotch ale, which was the best I had tasted in Scotland, and drunk only a draught of this ale in this kingdom."

In 1650, when Cromwell came to Glasgow after his defeat of the Presbyterian army at Dunbar, he was expected to enter the city by the Stablegreen Port. A rumour, however, was spread that the Presbyterians had stored a great quantity of gunpowder in a vault of the Bishop's Castle, intending to explode it, and so destroy their enemy as he entered the gate. The rumour was probably a mere *canard*, but whatever its value, the Protector entered the city, not by the Stablegreen Port, but by Cowcaddens and Cowloan, now Queen Street.

Four years later the Castle is mentioned as a prison. In August 1654 "Colonel Robert Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton, and fourteen men apprehended with him at Kilmarnock, were kept within it for a few days on their way to Edinburgh."¹

About 1661 a Frenchman called Jorevin de Rocheford visited England, Ireland, and Scotland, and published an account of his travels at Paris in 1672. Though he appears to have spent some time in Glasgow, he has not much to say about the Castle. After describing the Cathedral, he merely says: "The Archbishop's Palace is large, and very near it."

John Ray, the naturalist, made an extensive tour through England and Scotland in 1662. His "Itinerary" was published in 1760. He has only a passing reference to the Castle. He refers to the Cathedral and the churchyard, and then says: "The Bishop's Palace, a goodly building, near to the church, is still preserved."

Up till this time the building had not been suffered to fall into utter ruin, but ere other twenty years had fled the glory of

¹ Memoirs of James Burns, quoted "Trans. Glasg. Arch. Soc.," vol. i. Pt. ii. p. 243.

the Bishop's Castle had departed. The next account of it is dated 1689, in which year the Rev. Thomas Morer, then chaplain to a Scottish regiment, traversed the kingdom, noting all he saw with observant eye. He afterwards became minister of St Ann's, Aldersgate, and his "Short Account of Scotland" was published posthumously in 1715. His reference to the Castle, though but in a few words, is sufficient to show how it had become dilapidated:—

"At the upper end of the great street stands the Archbishop's Palace, formerly without doubt a very magnificent structure, but now in ruins, and has no more left in repair than what was the ancient prison, and is at this time a mean dwelling."

The next reference to the Castle is from the pen of a very notable writer, no less a personage than Daniel Defoe, author of "Robinson Crusoe." There was recently discovered among the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey¹ a series of letters from Defoe to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, which prove that Defoe was a paid spy in the service of the Government, and was sent to Scotland for that purpose while the Treaty of Union was under discussion. Some of the letters disclose an incident in the history of Glasgow which has not hitherto been recorded. Writing to Harley from Edinburgh on 30th November 1706, Defoe says:—

"I am sorry to tell you the war here is begun. The Glasgow men, a hundred only, very well armed, are marched, and two hundred are to follow; the Stirling men, Hamilton men, and Galloway men are to meet them. Expresses coming in to-day of this, the Privy Council, who had yesterday ordered a proclamation against them, have despatched a body of dragoons to meet them, and I must own the well affected people here attend the issue with great uneasiness."

¹ "Hist. MSS. Commission Rep.," xv. App. 4.

A week later, 7th December 1706, Defoe again wrote to Harley from Edinburgh, giving further particulars, and specially mentioning an unrecorded incident in the history of the Castle of Glasgow :—

“In my last I gave a particular of the increasing rabble at Glasgow, which grew to that height that the Magistrates and honest townsmen pressed for some soldiers to be sent with all speed, and Finly, one of the leaders of the mob, boasted he would be at Edinburgh in two days. You will please to observe, this Finly is a mean, scandalous, scoundrell fellow, carried arms in Dunbarton’s regiment, and a professed Jacobite, and I believe that is one reason the Cameronian people, though equally disaffected, would not join him, at least not so as to march from Glasgow or from their other towns. . . . Wednesday night, the detachment of dragoons, which went from hence with the horse grenadiers of the guard, and a second detachment who marched out of Fife by way of Stirling bridge, were ordered to march all night with the utmost expedition to Glasgow. We had several reports of action happening between them, and that the mob, having taken possession of the Castle at Glasgow had killed several of the dragoons. But this is contradicted. ’Tis true they have kept a court of guard in the Bishop’s house, which is the remains of an old Castle, but I cannot think they will defend themselves there. We expect the event here with great impatience. . . .”

“*Postscript.*—The above was written, but by a mistake kept too late for the last post, for which I ask your pardon, but make amends in part for it by adding that this short war is, God be praised, at an end. The detachment of dragoons are come back from Glasgow, and while I am writing this they are marching by the door with Finly and Montgomery, the two leaders of the Glasgow rabble, whom they seized in Glasgow without any resistance, and all things are restored there, and by this stroke I hope all is at an end.”

To this remarkable letter and postscript Defoe added another letter of the same date, which still further discloses the result of an incident which has escaped the notice of all the historians of Glasgow. The correspondence shows the fierce opposition throughout Scotland against the Treaty of Union which was then under discussion :—

“1706. December 7. *Edinburgh.*—The enclosed [*i.e.* the preceding letter of the same date] was wrote at three essays, and yet I am obliged to add a fourth. Since all the proceeding of the forces at Glasgow of which you see the

issue in the enclosed, the mob has been up there again as furious as ever. I confess I thought it a wrong step to let the dragoons quit the town again so soon. As soon as they were come away the rabble rose again and took all the Magistrates prisoners, and declared that if their two men were not restored and sent home again, they would treat the Magistrates just in the same manner as they should be treated. They took the parole of some of them, and let them go to Edinburgh to solicit, and they were here as soon as the prisoners. When the issue of their solicitation will be I know not, but I suppose they will force the Government to hang these two men, and to send the dragoons back again. Of everything that occurs you will depend upon an exact account."

The next reference to this mysterious incident occurs in a letter from Defoe to Harley, dated Edinburgh, 9th December 1706:—

"I sent you an account last post of the taking of Finly and Montgomery, the two ringleaders of the Glasgow rabble, and their bringing into the Castle here. They had no sooner brought them away but the rabble rose again there, took the Magistrates prisoners, and sent some of them hither, assuring them if they did not procure their two men again they would burn their houses, &c. The foolish men, frightened with the rabble, were here as soon as the prisoners. They have been, I hear, to-day before the Council, who, as they very well deserve, bid them go home and take better care of the peace of the city; for that must be owned, had they timely done their duty, these rabbles had been suppressed before they came to a head. I suppose these foolish people will force the Government to hang those two miserales. Finly behaves very haughty and positive, declares himself a Jacobite, talks of dying, and I believe expects no other. The other, I hear, has a pen and ink allowed him, and perhaps may tell some tales. The Committee of Council have been three times (or the Lord Register from them) to examine them; what has passed there, I presume you will not expect I should be able to acquaint you of."

In letters written by Defoe on 12th, 17th, and 19th December, he relates that the Glasgow Magistrates had been rebuked by the Government and sent home, as they had been accessory to all the mischief; the rabble in Glasgow was not yet quiet, though not so dangerously uneasy as before, but a detachment of foot and dragoons had been sent thither; and the soldiers, acting on confessions made by the two prisoners, had apprehended seven men in Glasgow as ringleaders of the mob. On 27th December

he records that "Finly, though a prisoner in the Castle, openly drinks King James the VIII.'s health—and 'tis as good a thing as he can do." Here the story abruptly ends, for Defoe is too busy telling of the rejoicings at the passing of the Treaty of Union to say anything about the Glasgow prisoners. On 10th March 1707 he tells that he has been "invited to Glasgow, where I must have been torn to pieces if I had gone before, but I think to venture a round thither." On 15th May 1707 he dates a letter from Glasgow, and this date incidentally shows the time when he wrote his description of Glasgow for his "Present State of Scotland," published in 1715, and expanded for his "Tour in North Britain," though the latter book was not published till 1727. His statement regarding the Castle is as follows:—

"Near the Church stands a ruinous Castle, formerly the residence of the Archbishop, who was legal Lord or Superior of the city, which stands on his ground, and from whom it received its first charter and many privileges. It is encompassed with an exceeding high wall of hewn stone, and has a fine prospect into the city."

It has been stated that during the time of the Rebellion in 1715, no less than 300 Highland prisoners were lodged in the Castle while on their way to Edinburgh. This hardly agrees with Defoe's statement in the same year, that the place was "ruinous." Shortly after this date the deliberate demolition of the Castle began. It was made a quarry for the new buildings in the neighbourhood. Professor Cosmo Innes in the "Episcopal Register of Glasgow," p. lviii., refers to a document which was saved from the fire at the Exchequer in Edinburgh, in which Robert Thomson, merchant in Glasgow, who lived "neer to the said Castle," complained to the Barons of the Exchequer in 1720 that the "stones, timber, sklates, and other materials" were being

taken away for secular purposes, "to the shame and disgrace of the Christian religion." The remonstrance had no effect. In 1755 the Magistrates, desiring to have a commodious hotel in the city, gave permission, as already explained, to Robert Tennant to use the materials of the Bishop's Castle to build the Saracen's Head Inn in the Gallowgate. When the Royal



Old Saracen's Head Inn in Gallowgate, as it now appears.

Infirmery was founded in 1789, almost the last part of the Castle was taken down to clear the site, and some of the stones were used in the new building. The last glimpse of the Castle is found in Lettice's "Tour in Scotland," published in 1794, where the following passage occurs :—

"We saw workmen very busy in pulling down a grand ruin near the Cathedral, the remains of the Episcopal Palace. But this will occasion you no surprise, as everybody knows how little partiality the inhabitants of North Britain entertain for the Episcopal order and all its appendages. The demolition of this ancient building happens, however, to have originated, in the present case, not in any bigotted prejudice against the objects of this nature, but solely in the intention of the Magistrates to render the materials serviceable in the erection of their new hospital."

Robert Reid (Senex) relates that in 1784 public executions took place in the Castle-yard, probably near where the execution-stone had stood in feudal times. He states that he was present at the execution of David Steven, who was hanged in the Castle-yard in 1785 for the murder of a weaver, whom he shot while at work upon his loom. On this occasion the walls of the old Bishop's Castle were crowded with spectators.¹ In 1886 a well was discovered near the front of the Infirmary, within the space that was formerly the Bishop's garden.² It is also interesting to note that a part of the ancient wall of the Castle, which ran along the Vicar's Alley to the west of the Cathedral yard, still remains to be seen. The fragment is about 70 feet long, 17 or 18 feet high in parts, and between 4 and 5 feet thick, and now forms part of the foundation of the Chronic Surgical House of the Infirmary.³ Other remains of the foundations of the enclosing wall have been occasionally come upon when the ground has been trenched for any special purpose. Many relics of the Castle were discovered in 1853, when the ground in front of the Royal Infirmary was levelled. An account of the discoveries then made was given by Mr J. C. Roger, in a paper read before the Society

¹ "Glasgow, Past and Present," vol. i. p. 338.

² "Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society," New Series, vol. i. p. 248.

³ Ibid.

of Antiquaries of Scotland. "During the operations for removing the mound in front of the Infirmary," he states, "traces of the ancient ditch which surrounded the Castle were visible in a dark-coloured incrustation, evidently formed by the feculent deposit usually found at the bottom of stagnant water. At the same time were found the ancient drawbridge, consisting of twelve beams of oak pegged together, of the length of 15 feet; at the point formerly occupied by the gatehouse, four oak piles, 4 feet in length and 15 inches broad either way; several cannon-balls, weighing each 36 pounds; a few silver coins; remains of an ash-pit containing several lambs' skulls and some oyster-shells; the stone used in fixing the gallows during the execution of criminals within the Castle-yard; and a portion of a human cranium. Some remains of the bastion constructed by Archbishop Beaton, discovered near the head of Kirk Street, had become so consolidated as to require the process of blasting to effect their removal. Fragments of the Palace, and some steps taken from the circular staircase in the great tower, the latter having been converted into flat tombstones, are still distinguishable within the Cathedral yard."¹

Here ends the story of the Bishop's Castle. Its origin is "lost in the mists of antiquity;" its magnificence in the days of its splendour has wholly passed away. Nothing remains to mark the site of a building that was so long associated in various forms with Scottish history and the progress of civilisation. Its memory is alone preserved by the name "Castle Street," which now seems an inapt designation where no castle is visible. It is a sorrowful "end o' an auld sang."

¹ "Trans. Soc. Antiq. Scot.," vol. ii. p. 326.

THE EPISCOPAL SEALS OF THE ANCIENT DIOCESE OF GLASGOW.¹

BY HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.



Boss of Vaulting in Lower Church.

IN the seals of the ancient see of Glasgow may be found a valuable and interesting series of Scottish Episcopal seals. This series begins with the seal of Jocelin (1175-1199) and ends with that of James Beaton, the last archbishop. From Jocelin, the bishops were twenty-four in number. Casts of ten of their seals were shown at the late Glasgow Exhibition "Bishop's Castle, Nos. 1163-1172"; and photo-lithographs of twenty-five of these seals are given with this paper.

Scottish seals of all kinds have been well described and illustrated by the late Henry Laing, of Edinburgh, who published, in 1850 and 1866, two volumes quarto, containing a catalogue of 2608 seals, of which 233 are seals of Scottish bishops, and giving many illustrations of seals. Amongst these are fifteen seals of the Bishops of Glasgow.²

A series of engravings of the Glasgow seals is to be found in the "Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis," Maitland Club, vol. ii., plates 1-4.

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of Glasgow Archæological Society, on November 20, 1890, and is reprinted here with the kind consent of the Council of that Society. As one seal is deleted, and two seals are added in the plates now given, the numbering of the seals is here somewhat different.

² Mr Laing's two books on Ancient Scottish seals are—the one a "Descriptive Catalogue, etc.," published in 1850; the other, a "Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue, etc.," published in 1866. When reference is made to the latter, it will be marked as vol. ii.

Also many of them may be seen in Dr Gordon's "Scotichronicon," in Macgeorge's "Armorial Insignia," and in the Appendix to the Chartulary of Melrose, printed for the Bannatyne Club.

The value of these seals, and the interest attached to the study of them, may be deduced from (*a*) the illustrations they afford of ecclesiastical dress and ornament; (*b*) the armorial bearings, both official and family arms; (*c*) the showing the progressive lettering of the inscriptions, which are often of use in settling the epoch of other undated inscriptions; and (*d*) the ornamental work and canopies that correspond with the advances in architecture of the period.

Pre-Reformation bishops' seals are divided into four main groups:—

1. Seals of dignity, or great seals, of an oval shape, more or less pointed at top and bottom; with
2. Their counter-seals;
3. Private seals, or secreta;
4. Seals *ad causas*, for public instruments of a less important nature than those attested by Nos. 1 and 2.

Of the great seals of the Bishops of Glasgow, we have casts of seventeen, which are figured in the accompanying plates. They may be divided into two classes:—I. Those with a full-length figure covering the whole seal, from 1175-1316 A.D. II. Those with smaller figures, from 1318-1560, which may be subdivided into (*a*) small figures, with armorial bearings, 1318; (*b*) do., under a canopy without shafts, 1300; (*c*) do., with shafts, 1320; (*d*) do., with double wings to shafts, 1454.

Counter-seals were often made of old gems with carving on them. Often they are very beautiful in design and execution. The legends are curious and interesting, as we shall see in the sequel. On two English counter-seals were the legends, *Munio sigillum*, and *Sum custos et testis sigilli*. The use of the counter-seal arose because the seals were pendant. Privy-seals were appended to documents of minor importance which did not require the great seal. A Seal of Cause was for a local charter of incorporation, or for the grant by which the superior constitutes subordinate corporations or crafts, and defines their privileges and powers. Till 1560 the bishop had to grant these incorporations. (See the account of the Charter of 1516 in favour of the Skinners and Furriers of Glasgow, and the one of 1558 in favour of the Cordiners, in "Old Glasgow," pp. 85 and 86.) This latter was granted by the Magistrates "with the consent, assent,

approbation, and ratification of the Most Rev. Father James, by the Mercy of God, Archbishop of Glasgow." And, "The Rev. Father, our Lord and Prelate, in verification of his consent and approbation," appends his seal before that of the community. Of counter-seals, secreta, and *ad causas*, there are eight in these plates.

Before describing the seals of the bishops, it may be well to state that in old times there were no arms belonging to the various sees. In the bishops' seals the family shield was introduced.

Whilst the seals of the nobility and gentry were of the circular shape, the ecclesiastical seals were of that pointed-oval shape, known as the *vesica piscis*, at least from the twelfth century.

In speaking of the deeds to which these seals were appended, we shall have occasion to speak of white wax, green wax, and red wax, and sometimes of a mixture of two colours. White seems to have been used for the great seals, and the burghs and monasteries; green was often used up to the fourteenth century; after that time, red was the colour used. Occasionally two colours were used, the impression being first taken in coloured wax, and then imbedded in a mass of uncoloured wax, forming a border round the design. Of the Glasgow Episcopal seals, three, during the fifteenth century, were of the two colours.

I. *Nos. 1 and 1a are the seal of Bishop Jocelin, 1175-1199, and its counter-seal.* An engraving of these seals is given in "Laing's Seals," plate xv. No. 1; in "R. E. G.," pl. i. No. 1; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 473. The seal represents St Kentigern, a full-length figure in chasuble, with crozier in his left hand, giving his benediction with his right hand, the two first fingers extended. On the rim of the pointed oval seal is the inscription, *Sigillum Jocelini Glasguensis Episcopi*. The date of this seal is c. 1190, and so it is an interesting specimen of the work of the end of the twelfth century.

The counter-seal is made of a small circular antique gem, representing two doves perched on a vase. The inscription is quite illegible. The seal was appended to a charter, by Jocelin, to the Abbey of Melrose.

II. *Nos. 2 and 2a are the seal and counter-seal of Florence, Bishop-Elect of Glasgow.* These seals are engraved in "L. S.," pl. xv. fig. 3; in "R. E. G.," pl. i. fig. 3; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 477. Florence was the son of Ada, the granddaughter of David I. King William, his uncle, made him his chancellor. On the translation of Bishop William Malvoisin to St Andrews,



Jocelin. 1175-1199



Florence.

1202-1207.

1A.

2A.



Jocelin
Counter-seal
1175-1199



Florence.
Counter-seal
1202-1207.



Walter. 1208-1234



Walter
Counter-seal
1208-1234



William de Bondington.
1233-1258.



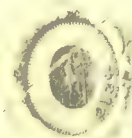
Counter-seal.

1233-1258.

William de Bondington.



Robert Wishart. 1272-1316.
Early Seal.



Robert Wishart
Early Signet.



Robert Wishart.
Early Counter-seal.



Robert Wishart.
1272-1316.
Later Seal.



Robert Wishart.
1272-1316.
Later Counter-seal.

he was elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1202. He was never consecrated, and resigned his charge in 1207. He went to Rome in 1211, and died there in the following year.

The seal represents a young man seated before a lectern, on which is a book. In his left hand he holds a staff like a palm branch, and the raised right hand has the forefinger extended. On the rim is the wording, *Sigill. Florenci Glasguensis electi*. It is a design of special interest, as it shows the difference between the seal of a bishop consecrated and one elected only.

The counter-seal is a small ancient intaglio, with two persons standing. The date of the seal is *circa* 1204. It was appended to a charter to the Abbey of Melrose.

III. Nos. 3 and 3a are the seal and counter-seal of Walter, bishop of Glasgow, 1208-1232. They are engraved in "L. S.," pl. xv. fig. 1; "R. E. G.," pl. i. fig. 4; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 478.

Walter was chaplain to King William the Lion. The seal is a full-length figure of a bishop, in profile, bearded, in pontifical vestments, with mitre, crozier in his left hand, and the right hand in act of benediction, standing on a crescent reversed. The apparel on the alb is very distinct and ornamental. The legend is, *Sigill. Walteri Dei gra. Glasguensis Epi.*

The counter-seal, of the pointed oval shape, has three-quarters of a bishop in profile, with the legend, *Sigill. Walteri Capellani Glasg.*, in allusion to his being chaplain to King William. The seal is of the date *circa* 1227.

In the "R. E. G.," No. 122, is a deed of Bishop Walter, 1214 A.D., confirming to the church of Glasgow three marcs from the Mill of Cader, to which was appended a seal of white wax, having on one side a bishop vested in a chasuble, and the other side obliterated.

IV. Nos. 4 and 4a are the seal and counter-seal of Bishop William Bondington, 1233-1258. They are engraved in "L. S.," pl. xv. fig. 4; in "R. E. G.," pl. i. fig. 5; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 479.

The seal, containing a full-length figure of a bishop, is almost an exact repetition of the one last described. The legend is, *Sigill. Willelmi Dei gra. Glasguensis Epi.*

The counter-seal has a figure of St Kentigern, with chasuble, mitre, and crozier, blessing a bishop kneeling before him, probably Bondington himself, who is saying *Ora pro nobis beate Kentegerne*. The seal is of

date *circa* 1237, and was appended to a composition between the Monastery of Melrose and the Monastery of Jedworth. The seal was also appended to a deed, "R. E. G.," No. 205, by which the bishop granted (9th April 1258) the chapter and church of Glasgow power to elect their dean. The note adds: "To this deed was appended a seal of white wax, having on one side a bishop robed in chasuble and mitre, in his left hand holding the pastoral staff and giving the blessing with his upraised right hand. On the other side, a bishop, similarly robed, blessing a bishop in his pontificals, kneeling before him with joined hands. Round it is the inscription, *Ora pro nobis beate Kentegerne.*" The annotator adds: "In this seal, which is the oldest of those I have seen entire, there is no trace of the fish, ring, or bird."

V. Nos. 5 and 5a are the early seal and signet of Bishop Robert Wishart, 1272-1316. The seals are not given in "L. S.," but are engraved in "R. E. G.," pl. iii. fig. 1; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 485.

The seal represents St Kentigern, beardless, standing robed in a very ample chasuble and jewelled mitre, in his left hand a crozier, exceptionally long, and the right hand in benediction. What is remarkable about this seal, is a sprig or branch of a tree with a bird upon it, on the bishop's right hand, and on the left hand, a fish upright with a ring in its mouth. The legend is, *S. Roberti Wyschard Dei gra. Episcopi Glasguensis.*

The signet is a small circular one, made of an old intaglio, with the legend, *Sig.* The rest is illegible.

VI. No. 6 is the early counter-seal of Bishop Robert Wishart. This seal is engraved in "L. S.," pl. xv. fig. 6; in "R. E. G.," pl. i. fig. 6. It is said that this was his seal used from his accession till 1306.

The engraving is taken from a seal, *circa* 1314, to one of the Melrose Charters, "Laing," p. 105. In "L. S." it is described as a *seal* of Bishop R. Wishart; but in the "R. E. G." it is called a *counter-seal*, used with a seal *for causes* in 1540. This is evidently a mistake.

It is a smaller seal than No. 5, and is the earliest of the Glasgow seals in which the figure does not occupy the whole field. Figures of St Kentigern and St Laurence occupy two niches in the centre, and below them is the figure of a bishop kneeling. The border on the sinister sides is wanting, and all the legend remaining is . . . *gra. Episcopi Glasguens.* A peculiarity of this seal is that the kneeling bishop faces the dexter side of the seal.

VII. *Nos. 7 and 7a are the later seal and counter-seal of the same prelate.* They are engraved in "L. S.," pl. xvi. fig. 1; "R. E. G.," pl. ii. fig. 1; in "Scotichronicon," p. 484. The counter-seal only is engraved in Macgeorge's "Old Glasgow," p. 25, and in "Glasghu Facies," p. 36.

In the seal, under a rich canopy, is a full-length figure of a bishop robed in his pontificals, his right hand raised, with the thumb and two first fingers extended, and his left hand holding the crozier. On each side of the bishop is the head of a saint, with nimbus. Below the dexter head is a bird, and below the sinister one a fish with a gemmed ring in its mouth. The inscription is, *S. Roberti Dei gratia Epi. Glasguensis*. Two things are to be noted in this seal; it is the first of the series with a canopy over the bishop's head; and he is standing on a lion crouching. Whether the lion was from the bishop's family arms, or from the allusion to Psalm xc. 13, "Thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon," we cannot say.

This seal, in white wax, was appended to No. 403 of the Melrose Charters, being a deed of Bishop R. Wishart giving the church of Ochiltree to the monastery, *circa* 1315.

The counter-seal is rich in design, consisting of three compartments divided horizontally. Of all the diocesan seals, this is the most remarkable, both from its subject and its inscription. The top compartment represents a monk kneeling, and presenting a fish with a large jewelled ring in its mouth to St Kentigern, who is seated with mitre and crozier. In the middle compartment are two niches; in the dexter, a figure with the sword in his right hand; in the sinister niche, a female figure holding a ring in her right hand. In the lowest compartment, in a niche, is a figure of Bishop Wishart kneeling; below him is a lion crouching; and in the spandrils above his niche are two heads nimbed, similar to those on the seal itself. The inscription is, *Rex. furit. Hec. plorat. Patet. aurum. Dum. sacer. orat.* The counter-seal was also appended to the Melrose Charter mentioned above.

Is this counter-seal meant to represent the following legend of the Breviary?—The Queen of Cadzow gave to a certain knight a ring that had been presented to her by her husband. The king took it off the knight's finger as he slept, and threw it into the Clyde. Through anger and jealousy he was about to put her to death, when, in her distress, she applied to St Kentigern, imploring his interposition for the recovery of the ring. St Kentigern sent one of his disciples to fish in the river with a hook,

and gave instructions that the first fish taken should be brought to him. When this was done, in the mouth of the salmon was found the ring that had been lost. (See *supra*, p. 32.) From this legend, coupled with the inscription round the counter-seal, the various figures have been thus explained: in the upper portion of the seal a monk kneeling presents the fish with the ring in its mouth to St Kentigern seated; in the two niches below him are the king with a drawn sword ready to slay his supposed frail lady, unless she can produce the ring, and the lady triumphantly presenting the ring to him.

Though not prepared to deny this to be the correct interpretation of Bishop R. Wishart's counter-seal, we think there are reasons to doubt it. These are:

1. The figure with the sword does not seem to represent a man in anger, but was the ordinary way of representing royalty or nobility. On other deeds in the "Regis. Epus. Glasg." are seals of this kind, *e.g.*, Deed 47, p. cviii., had "*sigillum ex cera alba exhibens ipsum Robertum, filium regis Scotie dextra extensa gladium strictum tenentem*;" and Deed 141, of 1226, p. cxvi., has "*sigillum ipsius Comitis (Lennox) ex cera viridi, exhibens Comitem strictum gladium dextra tenentem*."

2. The figure with the sword may be David, whose great work was the restoration of the Bishopric of Glasgow about the year 1115, or Malcolm III., and the female figure may be his mother St Margaret. The translation of her relics had taken place at Dunfermline twenty years before the accession of Bishop Wishart, and the nobles, clergy, and people of Scotland had just sent a petition to Innocent IV. for her canonisation.

3. The greatest difficulty, however, in rejecting the commonly received explanation of the counter-seal is in the inscription round it. Laing says: "The inscription on this fine seal is rather imperfect, but has evidently been *Rex furit. Hec plorat. Patet aurum. Dum sacer orat*," p. 165. This canting inscription may be thus rendered—"The King is angry, she in tears, as the Saint prays, the gold appears." Yet the inscription may have been an after thought, or added at a later period by an artist who knew the legend, but not Bishop Wishart's intention in the design.

4. It is quite possible that the kneeling figure in the lower compartment may be meant for St Kentigern, according to the words, "*Dum sacer orat*," in which case the seated figure would be Bishop Wishart. The female figure does not represent a woman in tears or sorrow.

5. The inscription may have been added to the seal during the absence of Bishop Wishart from his see. Owing to his support of Scottish independence, he was sent as a prisoner to England in 1306, and kept there for eight years, until the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. As the seal was appended to a deed in 1315, it was in the year after his release and the year before his death. Under these circumstances, it is quite possible that his late counter-seal may have been altered.

The two heads nimbed on the right side and on the left side of the bishop in the seal, and in the spandrils of the counter-seal, are supposed by Laing to be "the heads of St Kentigern and St David," p. 164, whose conjecture is followed in Gordon's "Scotichronicon," p. 484, and in "Glasghu Facies," p. 36. To us it seems clear that St Kentigern is not represented in either of the heads. Could these have been meant for St Ninian and St Columba, or for the heads of Wallace and Bruce, who were strenuously supported by Wishart? And could the monk on the counter-seal be in allusion to the bishop establishing the Franciscan friars at Haddington when the Culdees were extinguished?

There is much obscurity about this seal and its date. Macgeorge, in "Old Glasgow," p. 25, speaks of "the counter-seal of Bishop Robert Wyschard, made about the year 1271;" and again, p. 95, "the first of the bishops who added to his seal any of the emblems of the miracles was *William Wyschard*, who was elected to the see in 1270." Two mistakes seem to have crept in here. William Wishart was elected to the see of Glasgow in 1270, but was translated to St Andrews in 1272; and Robert Wishart's counter-seal could not have been made so early as 1271. William Wishart's private seal is described in "Laing," vol. ii. p. 185, as a pretty design of two pointed arches; in the dexter one a bishop giving his blessing; in the sinister, St Kentigern with a fish in his right hand; in a niche below is a bishop kneeling at prayer. The inscription is, *Secretum Wischard Dei gra. Episcopi Glasguen.*

6. Another possible explanation of the counter-seal, and of the inscription as it stands, is this: Bruce was proscribed by Edward I., who in his triumph had carried away from Scotland the crown, the sceptre, and the coronation stone. Bishop Wishart supported Bruce, and saw him seated on the throne in 1306. At Bruce's coronation the Abbot of Scone lent the chair, and a circlet of gold from the Abbey Church served for the crown. So the words *Rex furit* might apply to the anger of Edward when he invaded

Scotland; *Hec plorat*, to the sorrows of Scotland or to the death of Wallace; *Patet aurum*, to the circlet of gold used for a crown; and *Dum sacer orat*, to the prayers of St Kentigern for the prosperity of the country.

7. Another, not impossible, interpretation would be, *Rex furit*, the anger of Edward against Bishop Wishart, who, in 1296, had sworn fealty to him; *Hec plorat*, the wailing of the bishop at his long imprisonment for the rights of the church of the kingdom of Scotland; *Patet aurum*, the throne occupied by Bruce, the greatest king Scotland ever saw; and *Dum sacer orat*, the saint's prayers having helped to bring about this happy result. In the two latter suggested explanations the central figures of the counter-seal would be Robert Bruce and his wife, who was released, together with Bishop Wishart, after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

These are mere conjectures; but we cannot but think that this counter-seal has not yet been clearly interpreted, and is worthy of further investigation.

VIII. No. 8 is the seal of Bishop John Lindsay, 1322-1335. An engraving of it is given in "L. S.," pl. xvi. fig. 3; in the "R. E. G.," pl. ii. fig. 3; in "Scotichronicon," p. 490. Though called by Laing, and in the Glasgow Chartulary, the seal of John Wishart, it was really the seal of his successor, John Lindsay. The proof is that (a) the seal is appended to one of the Melrose Charters that bears the date of 1326, at which time Lindsay filled the see; and (b) the arms on the sinister side of the seal are the arms of the Lindsays.

The seal is of a very rich design. It has a figure of a bishop, evidently St Kentigern, in a niche with a light elegant canopy; and in the lower part a figure of a bishop kneeling in prayer. On the dexter side is a shield with a lion rampant debruised of a ribbon in bend—the bearings of Abernethy, often borne on the shields of the Lindsays. The shield on the sinister side appears to be charged with a bend. The inscription is, *Sigillum Johannis Dei gra Epi. Glasguensis*.

This seal has an especial interest, from the fact that though the twig, the fish, and the bird do not appear upon it, it is the first of the series in which heraldry is introduced.

No. 8a is the seal of Bishop John Lindsay "for causes," and on that account his less important seal. The inscription is, *S. Johis Dei gra. Epi. Glasguen. ad cas.* It is engraved in "L. S.," pl. xvi. fig. 4; in "R. E. G.," pl. ii. fig. 4; in "Scotichronicon," p. 490. Beneath a rich canopy is a figure of a bishop filling the seal. Above the right hand appears a mullet,

8.



John Lindsay. 1322-1335.

8A.

John Lindsay. 1322-1335.
Seal for Causes.

9.



Walter Wardlaw. 1371-1377.



William Lauder. 1408-1411.

12.



Andrew Muirhead. 1411-1414.

13.



John Lauder. 1473-1474.

14.



Robert Blackader. 1481-1484.

11.



John Cameron. 1426-1446.

15.



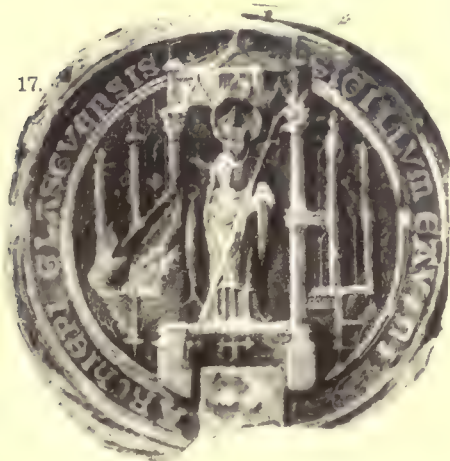
Archbishop Robert Blackader. 1500.

16.



Archbishop James Beaton. 1509-1512.

17.



Archbishop Gavin Dunbar. 1522-1547.

18.



Archbishop James Beaton. 1551.

as also beneath the two shields. The fish with the ring and the bird appear, without the branch, in combination with two shields. The dexter one bears ermine three bars, and the sinister one bears an orle vairé, surmounted with a bend.

This seal "*ad causas*" was appended to a vidimus by the bishop, 1333 A.D. A curious history is attached to it, as seen in an instrument of protest, dated 23rd April 1325, and printed in the "R. E. G.," No. 271. The instrument shows that while the bishop was residing at his manor at "Bishop's Loch," this seal had been lost by Robert del Barkour near the chapel of St Mary, Dunbarton, and was found and restored to him by James Irwyn, a monk of Paisley. In the same instrument the seal is described as having "the form or representation of the blessed Bishop Kentigern, his patron, together with the shield of a nobleman, William de Concyaco, on one side, with a fish bearing a ring in its mouth above it; and his own shield of arms on the other side, with a little bird over it." The arms of the family of De Coucy were "a barry of six, vairé, and gules," which corresponds with the dexter shield.

IX. No. 9 is the seal of Bishop Walter Wardlaw, 1368-1387. An engraving of it is given in "Laing," vol. ii. pl. x. fig. 4, but not in "R. E. G." nor in "Scotichronicon." This is a very fine seal. Within the niche, over which there is a canopy, is a full-length figure of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Child; and a full-length figure of a bishop with mitre and crozier. The two small niches at the side contain figures; and in base is a shield, bearing on a fess, between three mascles, as many crosses. The inscription is, *S. Walteri Dei gracia Episcopi Glasguensis*.

Bishop Matthew Glendoning succeeded Bishop Wardlaw, and presided over the see from 1389 till 1408. We have met with no cast or engraving of his seal. It is, however, described in a note to a document of his, of date 21st May 1401, "R. E. G.," cxxxv., Doc. No. 320.—"*Sigillum epi ex cera rubea super alba, exhibens imaginem Dei Patris Christum crucifixum coram se tenentis: inferius vero arma episcopi gentilitia, scilicet super scuto crucem striatam, et in apice scuti baculus pastoralis eminent. Hinc inde ex utraque parte scuti piscis et avis cernuntur*," p. cxxxvi. He may have used the crucifixion for his seal on account of his family arms; and Bishop W. Lauder may have adopted it from the example of his predecessor.

Bishop Lauder's seal is the last of the series in which the words "*Dei gratia*" are used.

X. No. 10 is the seal of Bishop William Lauder, 1408-1425. It is engraved in "Laing," pl. xvii. fig. 2; in "R. E. G.," pl. iii. fig. 2; in "Scotichronicon," p. 497. This is a very beautiful seal. Beneath a very ornamental canopy is the figure of God the Father, with a nimbus, sitting and supporting between his knees our Blessed Lord on the Cross. Below these figures is a bishop kneeling in prayer. On each side of the centre niche is a small projecting recess with a figure in it kneeling, whilst above them in canopied niches are two upright figures. There are four shields, the two upper ones bearing the arms of Scotland; the lower one on the sinister side charged with a griffin segreant, the family arms of Lauder; probably there was a similar one on the dexter side. The legend is, *S. Willelmi Dei gratia Episcopi Glasguensis*.

This seal is appended to a charter in Glasgow College, 1417 A.D.; as also to Deed 326 in "R. E. G.," of 19th May 1415, and the seal was of red wax on white (*ex cera rubea super alba*). Also it was appended to Deed 328 of 27th March 1417, and was of green wax. It is there described in note *a*, thus: "*Exhibet imaginem Dei Patris sedentis in throno, tenentis coram se imaginem Christi crucifixi: Hinc inde ex utraque parte throni arma Scotiae Leonem scilicet erectum. Infima vero pars sigilli ubi erant arma ipsius episcopi, attrita est.*" He seems to have had another seal, described in "R. E. G.," p. vi., note *d*.

XI. Bishop Cameron succeeded Bishop Lauder, and held the see from 1426 till 1446. Two of Cameron's seals are described in "Laing," vol. ii. Nos. 1079 and 1080.

- (a) The first one, used by him when made Lord Chancellor in 1428, was a small octagon seal, with three bars, his family arms. It had no inscription; the shield is supported on a pastoral staff. It is appended to a document in H.M. Record Office, dated 12th July 1429.
- (b) The second is engraved in "Laing," pl. ix. fig. 2, and is No. 11 in the present reproductions. It is the first of the round seals in the Glasgow series. The design is very fine, and beneath a rich canopy, with tabernacle work at the sides, is the head of St Kentigern mitred and nimbed. The bust rests on a shield supported by a crozier, and bears the three bars of the Cameron arms. At each side, as supporters, is the fish with a ring in its mouth.

The inscription is, *S. Johannis Cameron Epi. Glasguensis*. It is appended to a document dated 4th September 1439. Bishop Cameron's arms, copied from the great tower of the castle, are given on p. 324 of the present volume, in Mr Millar's article on "The Bishop's Castle."

Bishop William Turnbull, 1448-1454, succeeded Bishop Cameron. We do not find any engraving of his seal; but a notice occurs in the "R. E. G." stating that it was appended to a document, No. 364, "*Bulla pro lacticiniis*," of date 26th March 1451; to which a note is added, saying, "This document, written on paper, bore a round seal, of red wax, showing a bishop on his throne wearing the chasuble; below were the arms of the bishop, a bull's head."

XII. *No. 12 is the seal of Andrew Muirhead, 1454-1473.* It is engraved in "Laing," pl. xvi. fig. 5; in "R. E. G." pl. ii. fig. 5; in "Scotichronicon," p. 510.

Here again we have a very pretty niche, with canopy and open tabernacle work at the sides. It contains a figure of St Kentigern, with the nimbus, standing in his pontifical robes, with mitre and crozier, and holding in his right hand a fish with a ring in its mouth. The fish is again represented on both sides of the lower compartment of the screen work. The family arms of Muirhead, on a bend three acorns, are on a shield in the lower part of the seal. The legend is, *Sigillum Andree Epi. Glasguensis*. The seal is appended to a Melrose Charter, 1465 A.D.; also to Document No. 387 in "R. E. G.," p. xii.

XIII. *No. 13 is the seal of John Laing, 1473-1483.* It is engraved in "Laing," pl. xvii. fig. 3; in "R. E. G.," pl. iii. fig. 3 (but erroneously called Bishop Cameron's seal); and in "Scotichronicon," p. 511.

Three niches with canopies contain three figures; the centre one has St Kentigern, standing, with a fish in his right hand, as in seal 12; the dexter one has a man with a long spear which he thrusts into the head of a man at his feet; the sinister one has the figure of St Katherine, nimbed, with the wheel in her right hand. Below is a shield supported by two angels, with the arms, quarterly; first and fourth, a pale; second and third, three piles, for Laing. The inscription is, *S. Johis Epi. Glasguensis*.

The seal was attached to a deed, "R. E. G.," No. 417, of date 8th June 1478. A note added says: "To this document was appended a seal of red wax on white, showing a bishop standing, with crozier

and mitre, and robed in the chasuble, and by his side a fish holding a ring in its mouth; on the dexter side is a figure of St Michael with the dragon; on the sinister side a figure of a female saint (perhaps of St Tenaw, the mother of St Kentigern). Below are the family arms of the bishop quartered; first and fourth, *Scutum palis exaratum*; second and third, *apicem scuti dentatum*." On the sides are two angels as supporters.

XIV., XV. Nos. 14 and 15 are the seals of Bishop Blacader, 1483-1508. Both are engraved in "Laing," pl. xvii. figs. 4 and 5; in "R. E. G.," pl. iii. figs. 4 and 5; and in "Scotichronicon," pp. 513 and 514. The one is his seal whilst he was simple bishop, the other is his seal after he was made archbishop in 1488.

(a) In the earlier seal, in a canopied niche, is a figure of St Kentigern, with the crozier longer than usual, and slanting from the left to the right; on his right hand is a fish with a ring in its mouth. Below the figure is a shield, bearing on a chevron three roses, the arms of Blacader. Above the shield is a mitre. The inscription is, *S. Rotundum Roberti Epi. Glasgu.* It was appended to a charter, 1491 A.D.

(b) No. 15. This is a remarkably fine seal, with very rich canopy and elegant tabernacle work on the sides of the shafts bearing the canopy. Under the canopy is a full-length figure of St Kentigern, with nimbus, but without mitre or crozier. He holds a book between his hands. On his left hand is the fish, represented larger than usual, with the gemmed ring through its upper jaw. Below the pedestal of the canopy a shield bearing the arms of the Blacader family, and above the shield a cross fleury. The legend is, *Sigillum Roberti Archiepi Glasguensis.*

It will already have occurred to many that we have in these two seals what corresponds with the carved work of Blacader on his two altars in the cathedral. On the earlier one, to right of screen, is a rich mitre over his shield with the family arms; on the later one, to the left, is a cross over the shield. When an ecclesiastic is made archbishop, he is said to receive the cross.

This seal is appended to a charter of date 1500. It was also appended to deeds "R. E. G." No. 468, of 31st May 1494; No. 469; No. 471, of

27th February 1495; No. 477, of 13th May 1497; No. 481, of 3rd October 1500; and No. 486, of 27th January 1507. To this last document is added a note, "*Sigillum Roberti Archiepi ex cera rubea super alba, exhibens S. Kentigernum stantem veteri casula indutum nudo capite, et iuxta ad latus piscem annulum ore tenentem: inferius super scuto arma epi gentilitia, scilicet tria quinque folia imposita cantherio; superius e scuto prominet crux archiepiscopalis*," ii., xxv.

It may not be out of place to mention here two seals that, if not of this series, have some connection with Glasgow. They are the seals of Bishop William Elphinstone, whom Glasgow gave to Aberdeen, and who became the founder of Aberdeen University in 1494. He retained his love for Glasgow, where he had been Vicar-General, and also Rector of the University. The two seals are engraved in "Laing," pl. x. figs. 8 and 9.

(a) The first is a round seal with three canopied niches. In the centre is the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus, both nimbed; in the dexter niche a bishop; and in the sinister one St Kentigern, holding in his left hand the crozier crosswise, and in his right hand the fish with the ring in its mouth. Appended to a document, 28th August 1490.

(b) The second is a very fine and elaborate large seal, pointed oval in shape. The design is the same as in the other, with the addition of two figures in the head of the centre canopy. *S. autentica Willelmi Epi. Aberdonen.* Appended to a document 1501 A.D.

XVI. No. 16 is the seal of the first Archbishop Beaton, 1509-1522. It is engraved in "R. E. G.," pl. iv. fig. 1; and in Macgeorge's "Insignia," p. 92.

It is a large round seal with canopy and tabernacle work at the sides. The full-length figure of St Kentigern is the same precisely as in Seal No. 15, and the fish is in every way similar. The shield bears the arms of Beaton, quartered with Balfour, *i.e.*, *quarterly*, first and fourth *azure*, a fess between three mascles, *or*, for Beaton; second and third *argent*, on a chevron *sable*, an otter's head erased of the first, for Balfour. The inscription is, *Sigillum Jacobi Archiepi Glasguensis*.

After presiding for fourteen years over the see of Glasgow, Archbishop

Beaton was translated to St Andrews and the Primacy in 1523. His seal and counter-seal as Archbishop of St Andrews are described, without engravings, in "Laing," Nos. 879 and 880.

XVII. No. 17 is the very beautiful seal of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, 1524-1547. It is not engraved in "Laing," but in "R. E. G.," pl. iv. fig. 2; in "Macgeorge," p. 93; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 519.

Under a canopy, supported on spiral columns, with tabernacle work at the sides, somewhat like flying buttresses, is a figure of St Kentigern, with the nimbus; in his left hand a very long crozier held crosswise, and in his right hand the fish with the ring. Below the pedestal of the canopy is a shield bearing three cushions, within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered; over the shield is a cross fleury. The legend is, *Sigillum Gavini Archiepi Glasguensis*.

The private seal of Dunbar is represented by a woodcut in "Scotichronicon," p. 519. It is a small circular seal, containing a shield with the Dunbar arms as above; under the shield is a fish *naiant* on its back, *without* the ring, and above the shield is a cross *bottonné*. The legend is, *Secreta Gavini Archiepi Glasguen*. Morton Charters, 1536 A.D.

The shield with the arms of Archbishop Dunbar, from the gateway he built at the Bishop's Castle, is illustrated in "Old Glasgow," p. 110; in "Scotichronicon," p. 522; and in the present volume, p. 332.

XVIII. No. 18 is the seal of Archbishop James Beaton, 1551-1603, the last and twenty-fourth of the Bishops of Glasgow from the time of Jocelin. It is engraved in "Laing," pl. xxi. fig. 5; in "R. E. G.," pl. iv. fig. 3; and in "Scotichronicon," p. 527.

It is a large round seal, with elegant domed canopy and tabernacle work. The full-length figure of St Kentigern is similar to that of seal No. 17. Below the pedestal is the shield of a debased pattern, with the arms, quarterly, of Beaton and Balfour, as in seal No. 16, and above the shield a cross *bottonné*. The legend has *Sigillum Jacobi Archiepiscopi Glasguen*.

His counter-seal is shown in a woodcut in "Scotichronicon," p. 527, as a small circular seal, with a shield, quarterly, of Beaton and Balfour. Above is a cross *bottonné*; at the sides, his initials, "J. B."; and beneath it the fish *with* the ring. On a scroll surrounding the shield is the wording, "*Ferendum v . . . as*." Morton Charters, 1566 A.D. As

the Archbishop had then been six years in Paris, this may have been the seal of his referendary, or official charged with the duty of signing for him charters or deeds.

Dr Gordon's "Glasgow, Ancient and Modern," p. 960, has a sheet with woodcuts of seals Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 8*a*, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18.

It will have been observed during the course of these remarks, as also from an examination of the illustrations of the seals, that in them the fish and ring are represented fourteen times,—not counting the triple repetition of the fish in Bishop Muirhead's seal,—the bird four times, the branch or twig but once, and the bell not at all. The question then arises: What is the meaning of the fish with a gemmed ring in its mouth, of the bird, and of the twig or branch?

- (*a*) Does the fish with the ring allude to the legend of the Queen of Cadzow?—or does it not rather record the fact that the see of Glasgow derived a portion of its income from the salmon fisheries on the Clyde and other waters? In the "Free Rent of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, as given at the General Assumption in 1561," we find mention of fourteen dozen salmon.¹
- (*b*) Is the bird, as is commonly supposed, meant to represent the tame robin, the favourite of St Serf, that was accidentally killed by his disciples, who, to screen themselves, laid the blame on St Kentigern, who then took the bird in his hand, made over it the sign of the Cross, whereon it was restored to life?
- (*c*) Does the twig bear reference to the branch that St Kentigern is said to have miraculously kindled into flame, when some of his companions, out of envy, extinguished the fire that had been committed to his keeping?²

As the designs for the seals of the community of Glasgow were adapted from the seals of the bishops, we will give the probable origin and explanation of these emblems. An engraving of the ancient seal of the community of the city of Glasgow, used in the reign of Robert I.,

¹ See *supra*, p. 127, note 2.

² See "Vita," cap. vi.

1306-1329, in which the fish with the ring, the bird, the twig, and the bell appear, can be seen in "R. E. G.," pl. v. fig. -3; in "Old Glasgow," p. 96; and in Macgeorge's "Insignia," p. 102.

- (a) The fish is a very common sacred emblem, and often used in heraldry. The seal of the burgh of Peebles has on a shield three salmon fesswise, counter naiant (see "Laing," No. 1177, p. 213). A fish occupies the shield in the seal of Coldstream Cistercian Convent (see "Laing," ii., No. 1126, pl. xv. fig. 5). The seal of St Mary's College in the University of Aberdeen had on a vase three salmon (see "Laing," No. 975, p. 172).

A plate in the *Arch. Journal*, 1885, p. 159, has two ancient gems with the fish. No. 4 represents a reversed anchor, with two fish hanging by their heads, one on each side of the stem. The fish is three times repeated in the seal of Bishop Andrew Muirhead. No. 9 represents a fish swimming and holding in its mouth a twig. "Could it be intended," asks the writer, "to convey that the fish (the Ichthus or Christ) brings peace and happiness to the believer, or is it the disciple who has received and holds that emblem of his peace in Christ?" St Zeno, Bishop of Verona, is represented in sculpture and in paintings with a fish suspended from his crozier (see "Sacred and Legend Art," p. 417). Mrs Jamieson explains the fish as an emblem of the rite of baptism. As a general emblem of the Christian faith, the fish is seen upon the sarcophagi of the early Christians, on the tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs, on rings, coins, lamps, and other utensils as an ornament in early Christian architecture. St Peter is often represented with a fish, and probably the emblem has a threefold signification—*first*, in allusion to his former calling as a fisherman; *second*, in allusion to his conversion to Christianity; and *thirdly*, in allusion to his vocation as a Christian apostle, or fisher of men, according to the words of Christ, "Come ye after Me, and I will make you to be fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19).

- (b) A bird is also frequently represented on seals and gems. These birds are supposed to typify good Christians, or their spiritualised state in heaven. The Glasgow bird in connection with the tree may represent the faithful gathered into the church by St Kentigern; "The birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof" (xiii. 32).

St Columba is represented as holding in his right hand a dove—possibly in allusion to what is related of him in his “Life,” chap. xix. See the seal of Bishop G. Crichton, of Dunkeld, described in “Laing,” ii., No. 1024, p. 172, and illustrated in pl. xi. fig. 7.

A bird on the branch of a tree occurs on the seal of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Holywood, Galloway (see “Laing,” ii., No. 1150, p. 202, and pl. xv. fig. 2).

(c) A tree is often seen in old seals. Instances may be seen in some illustrations given in the *Arch. Journal*, 1885, p. 159, and described by Mr Fortnum. He thinks the emblem is meant to represent the Tree of Life. In the Glasgow arms the tree may represent the tree grown from the mustard seed (Matt. xiii. 32), as symbolical of the great results produced by Bishop Kentigern from small beginnings.

That these three very common sacred emblems should have been used in the Glasgow seals on account of certain legends connected with St Kentigern seems very unlikely. In one of the Episcopal seals of the old diocese of St Andrews, the fish with the ring and the bird are used. It is the seal of Bishop W. Lamberton, who was bishop from 1297 to 1328, but who had been Chancellor of Glasgow. It is engraved in “Laing,” pl. xxi. fig. 2; and in “R. E. G.,” pl. vi. fig. 2.

(d) The bell is not represented in any of the bishops’ seals before us, but is seen in the seal of the chapter, 1321 A.D., figured in “Laing,” pl. xvi. fig. 2, p. 183; and also in the seal of the Official of the Diocese of Glasgow, 1533 A.D., inscribed—*S. Officialatus Glasguensis*, engraved in “Laing,” pl. xxi. fig. 6, p. 185; and also in “R. E. G.,” pl. vi. fig. 9. The bell is also a not uncommon Christian emblem. St Antony is represented with a bell. We would then suggest that the employment of these four emblems in connection with St Kentigern was meant to convey that he was sent as a fisher of men, that his work from small beginnings grew to very large dimensions, “like to a grain of mustard seed, . . . which is the least indeed of all seeds, but when it is grown up . . . becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof”; and that his name and fame became so great that he was heard of

everywhere. "Verily, their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the whole world" (Rom. x. 18).¹

Further notices of the Bishops of Glasgow's seals may be seen in "The Diocesan Registers of Glasgow," vol. ii.:—

The *great seal* of Archbishop Beaton, pp. 330, 447.

The *seal* of Archbishop Blacader, pp. 11, 131.

The *round seal* of Archbishop Blacader, p. 46; of Archbishop Beaton, pp. 347, 364, 376, 418, 428 (*litteras rotundo sigillo rubea cera alba impressa pendente sigillatas*), 469, 394 (*sigillo rotundo rubea cera alba impressa impendente*).

The *signet* of Archbishop Beaton (to acts of Synod of 1509 A.D.), pp. 277, 410.

The seals of the Bishop and of the Chapter appended to various instruments, pp. 11, 132, 252, 324, 364-5, and 493.

One or two more remarks will bring this paper to an end.

1. In these Glasgow Episcopal seals a canopy over the head of St Kentigern is first seen in the seal, No. 7, of Robert Wishart; and the canopy, supported on shafts, first occurs in the seal of his successor, No. 8.
2. The crook of the crozier is turned outward, or from the figure, in Seals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18; inward in large figure of Seal 1, and in the small figures of the bishops in Seals 6, 7*a* (counter-seal), and 8. The head or crook is plain till the time of Robert Wishart, and after then it is crocketed.

¹ Cleland, in his "Annals," Appendix, p. 167 (1828), thus explains the arms of Glasgow:—"The tree is emblematical of the spreading of the gospel, its leaves being represented as for the healing of the nations. The bird is also typical of that glorious event, so beautifully described under the similitude of the winter being past, and the rain over and gone, and the time of the singing of birds being come. Bells for calling the faithful to prayers were considered so important in matters of religion that the rite of consecration was conferred on them by the dignitaries of the Roman Church. As to the salmon, it may refer to the tradition of the lady's marriage-ring being lost, and afterwards found in the mouth of a salmon, at the prediction of St Mungo, in the year 600; or it may have reference to the staple trade of the town, which was fishing and curing salmon, from a very early period. A society of fishers was formed in 1201, when Malvoisin was bishop. These persons lived in a row of houses fronting the river, which was called the Fishergate till the bridge was built, when the name was changed to Bridgegate. Salt for curing the fish being sold in the vicinity of the Fishergate, gave name to the Saltmarket."—ED.

3. These seals, from Jocelin, 1175, to John Laing, 1473, were all of the pointed oval form; then the round seals commenced, and continued till 1560.
4. Some Scottish seals have a peculiarity not seen in English seals, *i.e.*, the bishops are represented not with full face, but with three-quarter face; and they show greater artistic power than English Episcopal seals.
5. Pl. ii. fig. 8 is the first seal that has a shield and heraldic bearings. Figs. 16 and 18 show the arms quartered. These families quartered the arms to preserve from oblivion those lines of ancestry which had ended in an heiress.
6. The architectural ornaments on these seals, in the form of canopies, shafts, tabernacle work, and screen work, are useful and valuable illustrations of art. The rise, progress, and development of the beautiful architecture of the twelfth to the sixteenth century can be traced in the Episcopal seals. Seals Nos. 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17 show that Bishops Muirhead, Blacader, Beaton, and Dunbar were men of very refined taste in art, and that the seals of Scotland did not yield in artistic beauty to any others, but were in advance of those in many other places.

[The blazon of the city of Glasgow, derived from the ancient insignia of the bishops, has been treated by the late Andrew Macgeorge in his "Inquiry as to the Armorial Insignia of the City of Glasgow," and also by the Marquess of Bute and his collaborators, Messrs Macphail and Lonsdale, in their recent volume, "The Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland."—ED.]

THE PREBENDS AND PREBENDAL MANSES OF GLASGOW.¹

BY THE REV. J. F. S. GORDON, D.D.



The Duke's Lodging, in Drygate.
(From Stuart's "Views and Notices of Glasgow.")

THE Dean of the Cathedral, who was Parson of Cadzow (changed in 1445 into Hamilton), and vicar-general during a vacancy in the bishopric, had his manse without the Rottenrow Port, at the head of

a large garden, called the Deanside Yard, or Balmanno Brae. In the small volume entitled "Glasgow Delineated" (page 232), the Dean's house is stated to have stood on the north boundary of the Greyfriars churchyard, back from the line of George Street. It was situated in a hollow, with a small rivulet at the back. The rivulet at the present day crosses Albion Street, and passes into a common sewer. In 1803-4 a range of houses was built

¹ We are dependent upon John M'Ure, *alias* Campbell, clerk to the Registration of Sasines, the first historian of Glasgow, who wrote in 1736, for the sites of the prebendal residences. Gibson and Wade, the more modern historians, are less accurate.

in George Street, on part of the old garden of the Dean. In digging the foundations, a deep bed of mud was found under the surface soil, and a large number of piles had to be driven in before the foundation could be made secure.¹

The ancient parish of Cadzow comprehended the present parish of Hamilton and the chapelry of St Mary Machan, now the parish of Dalserf. David I. made a grant of the church of Cadihou, with its pertinents, to the bishops of Glasgow, and the grant was confirmed by the bulls of several popes. Cadzow was afterwards constituted a prebend of Glasgow Cathedral by Bishop John Achaius. In 1451 the church of Cadzow or Hamilton was made collegiate, when James, Lord Hamilton, built a fine Gothic church, with a choir, two cross aisles, and a steeple. This continued the parish church till 1732.

(2) The Archdeacon of Glasgow, who was Rector of Menar, or Peebles, had his manse in the head of the Drygate. After the Reformation it was purchased by Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, who in 1605 rebuilt a great part of it.² His grandson, Sir Ludovic Stewart, sold it to Dame Isabel Douglas, Dowager-Marchioness of Montrose, and it was still resided in by the Montrose family when M'Ure wrote, in 1736.³ "It has a noble, commanding prospect of the whole city and adjoining country," says M'Ure, "and on the declination of the hill there is room enough for what gardens they please." In 1746 the Duke of Montrose sold the lodging to Gavin Pettigrew, and the site is now occupied by the houses of the governor and chaplain of the North Prison.

¹ "Glasgow Past and Present," vol. i. p. 224.

² The genealogy of the House of Stewart, once so important in Glasgow, is given in "Glasghu Facies," i. 299.—ED.

³ See initial to this article.

In the *Notitia* of David I., about 1120, the church of Peebles appears as a possession of the see. While Bishop Ingelram was Rector of Peebles the church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; but in 1195 Bishop Jocelin consecrated a new church, and dedicated it to St Andrew. This latter continued to be the parish church till the Reformation, when it was rendered unfit for use. The church of Peebles was made a prebend before 1216.¹

(3) The Rector of Morebattle, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, had his manse in the Kirkgate, a little south of St Nicholas's Place, on the left hand betwixt the entry of the Rottenrow and St Nicholas's Hospital. About the time of the Reformation the Trades Incorporations bought the tenement, and converted it into an alms-house and trades-hall, and the site was occupied by the Trades Hospital when M'Ure wrote. At a later day the Gas-works were erected on the ground immediately behind. The site now forms part of the prison grounds.

The church of Morebattle was dedicated to St Laurence, and appears to have been a prebend before 1228.²

(4) The Sub-Dean, Rector of Monkland, had his manse on the Molendinar, a little to the south of the cathedral. In 1425 it was agreed between that *venerabilem et circumspectum virum*, the Sub-Dean, and William Nicholas, burgess, that as the said William was considerably in arrear in payment of duties on a tenement on the north side of the Rottenrow, held in perpetual feu from the Sub-Dean for the annual sum of ten shillings Scots, he consented to restore the property into the hands of the said superior, with the

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," p. 95.

² "Orig. Par Scot.," i. 403.

reservation in liferent to himself and his wife of the garden attached to the house, with the well, trees, and other pertinents. In 1434, John Stewart, Sub-Dean, with the consent of the bishop and chapter, conveys "ane akyr of land of my land callit the Denesyde, lyand in lynth and brede on the north syde of the comoun strete callit the Ratown rawe next a west half the tenement of Thom Curouris, to Thome of Week," a burgess of the town, his heirs and assignees, he or they "gyffand to me and my successouris, sodeness of Glasgu for the tyme beand at two usual termys, Quhitsonday and Martynmes yherly, sex syllingis and acht penys of usuale mone of Scotland."¹ In 1440 Donaldus Talyhour, burgess, sells to Master John De Dalgles, one of the vicars of the cathedral, a tenement with four carucates of front land and garden, situated on the south side of the Ratonraw, between the property of Jonete Pyd on the east, and that of the Sub-Dean of Glasgow, known as Denesyde, on the west, for what seems the nominal sum of five merks. In the reign of Charles II., the College of Glasgow purchased from the Duchess of Hamilton the patronage and tithes of the sub-deanery of Glasgow, with those of the churches of Cadder and Monkland.

The whole parish of Cadder, in Lanarkshire, formerly belonged to the sub-deanery of Glasgow, with the exception of the barony of Cadder itself, and the mid-town of Bedlay. The Bishop's land was called the Baldermonoch ward, or Monk's town, and comprehended ten townships of eight ploughgates each. The old mill of Bedlay, one of the Bishop's corn-mills, stood under the cliff on which the western part of the old house of Bedlay is built,

¹ See "Liber Collegii Nostre Domine," p. 249.

and was driven by the Luggie burn, but was removed by the late laird, Mr Campbell. From its ecclesiastical tenure are derived several place-names in Cadder parish, such as Bishop's Bridge, Bishop's Moss, and Bishop's Loch. The last-named is a fine sheet of water bordering on the Barony and Old Monkland parishes. It is about a mile in length and quarter of a mile in breadth, and is now used as a reservoir for the canal.

(5) The Chancellor, Rector of Campsie, custodian of the seal of the Chapter, had his lodging in the Drygate, "in that place called the Limmerfield, where the ruins of fine buildings are yet to be seen."¹ It was in this lodging that Queen Mary's husband, Darnley, lay ill when he came to visit his father, the Earl of Lennox, and from which he was carried to his death at the Kirk of Field. At that time the titular Rector of Campsie was Mr Erskine, nephew to the Earl of Mar restored by Queen Mary.

The church of Campsie is among the prebendal churches of Glasgow enumerated in a bull of Honorius III. in 1216.² The patron saint was St Machan or Manchanus, and the church was at the mouth of the Kirkton Glen, at the foot of the Campsie Fells, in Stirlingshire, where five streams unite to form the Water of Glassert.³

(6) The Precentor of the Cathedral, Rector of Kilbride (East), had his manse on the north side of the cathedral, *ex oriente a deambulacro vicariorum*, i.e., to the east of Vicars' Alley.⁴

The church of Kilbride was dedicated to St Bridget, and was

¹ M'Ure, 1736, p. 50.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 111, p. 94.

³ "Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 44.

⁴ Charter of Charles I. in 1630, confirming the rights of the College. See *supra*, pp. 294, 297.

a prebend of Glasgow in 1216.¹ The last precentor was Mr John Stevenson, a Lord of Session. In 1589 the old parish of Torrance was incorporated with Kilbride, and finally the teinds of Kilbride were mortified to the College of Glasgow, twelve chalders of victual only being reserved for the minister, with the glebes of Kilbride and Torrance. The bell of the church, cast in 1590, was cracked in 1689 by violent ringing at the news of the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie.²

(7) The site of the manse of the Treasurer, Rector of Carnwath, is not mentioned by M'Ure. To this rectory belonged the lands of Easter Craigs. After the Reformation they were purchased from Mr Thomas Livingston, the incumbent, by James Gilhagie of Kennyhill.

The church of Carnwath was granted to Bishop Ingelram by William de Somerville between 1164 and 1174, and was erected into a prebend by Urban III. between 1185 and 1187.³ The present parish church, built in 1866, occupies the site of a church founded in 1424, by Sir Thomas Somerville, for a provost and six prebendaries. A fragment of the old north transept, with a five-light window, still remains, and has been the sepulchre successively of the Somervilles, Dalziels, and Lockharts.

(8) The Cathedral Sacristan, Rector of Cambuslang, had his manse on the south side of the Drygate, a little beyond the site of the lodging built at a later day by the Duke of Montrose. In 1665 it was acquired by the Earl of Glencairn, who sold it to the magistrates of Glasgow for a house of correction.⁴

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," p. 94.

² See Ure's "History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride," p. 210.

³ "Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 126.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 217.

The church of Cambuslang was dedicated to St Cadocus.¹ In 1429 Bishop Cameron, who had himself previously held this living, obtained the consent of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to erect the parsonage into a prebend.

(9) The Bishop's Vicar, who was Parson of Glasgow, otherwise "Glasgow 1^{mo}," had his manse to the north-east of the Bishop's Castle. In 1580 it was acquired from Parson Archibald Douglas by Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill,² a cadet of the Kilbirnie family, famous for his capture of Dunbarton Castle, who sold it to Lord Boyd, whose descendant, the Earl of Kilmarnock, sold it to a Mr Hill.³ In 1817 it was occupied as a public-house.

(10) The Sub-Precentor, Prebendary of Ancrum, in Teviotdale, designated "Glasgow 2^{do}," had his parsonage to the north of the cathedral, in Vicars' Alley.⁴ At the Reformation the manse was sold to Graham of Knockdolian, Ayrshire, from whom it was purchased by the Earl of Montrose, who sold it to John, Earl of Wigton.

Ancrum was a prebend of Glasgow as early as 1121, and the bishops had a palace or castle there which was a favourite residence, and in which Bishop Bondington died in 1258.⁵ In the English wars following the death of James V., Ancrum was twice burned, by Sir Ralph Evers and by the Earl of Hertford. It now gives the title of Earl to the Marquis of Lothian.

(11) The Parson of Eaglesham had his lodging adjoining that of the Rector of Peebles, at the head of the Drygate, nearly opposite Limmerfield Lane. At the Reformation, the parson, Mr Archibald

¹ "Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 61.

³ M^Ure, 1736, p. 51.

⁵ See p. 100, *note*.

² See *supra*, p. 190.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 294, 297.

Crawford,¹ conveyed it to the Laird of Crawfordland, from whom it passed through several hands to the first Duke of Montrose, who, says M'Ure, "has built upon the ground thereof one of his pavilions for his palace." "The Duke's Lodging," as it was called,² occupying the sites of the manses of Peebles and Eaglesham, was finally acquired, in 1850, by the Prison Board.

Eaglesham (*i.e.*, "Kirk-town") situated eight miles south from Glasgow, became a prebend of the see about 1430.³

(12) The manse of the Rector of Cardross stood on the north side of the Drygate, but was demolished before 1736.

Before 1432 the parish of Cardross, on the Clyde below Dunbarton, was erected into a prebend for a canon of the cathedral.⁴ Robert the Bruce spent the two last years of his life in the parish, fishing, hawking, and building ships. A little west of the Leven, on a small eminence called Castlehill, according to tradition, stood the residence in which he died, 7th June 1329.

(13) The tenement now numbered 3 to 5 Castle Street has been popularly supposed to be "the only manse of a Glasgow prebendary remaining at the present day." The supposition is that this was the residence of the dignitary known as Canon of Barlanark and Lord of Provan. M'Ure states that this prebendary's lodging was "the large house near the Stable-green Port that now belongs to Mr Bryson of Neilsland," and in Michael Connal's essay on St Nicholas's Hospital, the tenement now standing is stated to be

¹ In 1794 a slab was discovered in the south aisle of the Tron Church, bearing the inscription:—"Here lyes the remains of Mr Archibald Crawford, Parson of Eaglesom, Provost of this new kirk, who departed this life anno 1593."—*Glasgow Courier*, 27th February 1794.

² See initial to this article.

³ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," p. 340.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

the manse of the Lord of Provan. There exist, however, strong reasons to doubt the identity of the building. In the "Chronicles of St Mungo," p. 54, the manse is stated to have been removed about the beginning of last century,¹ and an examination by Mr Honeyman and Mr J. Dalrymple Duncan, some few years ago, led to the conclusion that the tenement now standing, "far



Tenement Nos. 3 to 5 Castle Street, as it stood in 1844.
(From "*Views and Notices of Glasgow*," p. 24.)

from being a relic of the fifteenth century, was erected during the course of the seventeenth, and most probably was not older than about 1650."² In any case, however, the old house possesses considerable antiquarian interest. The tenement is now the property of Miss Turnbull, Rutland Place. The small lean-to

¹ It is worthy of note that the Rector of Stobo had also an early residence in the Stable-green. See *infra*, p. 392, *note*.—ED.

² The whole subject of the origin and history of the building was discussed by Mr Dalrymple Duncan in a paper contributed to the Regality Club, and was the subject of a letter from the same writer in the *Glasgow Herald* of 22nd August 1897.—ED.

building at the south gable is said to have been the residence of the Glasgow hangman.¹

Among the oldest possessions of Glasgow, the lands of "Barlannerc cum Budlornac" were added by Bishop Herbert to the prebend of Cadzow before 1172; but before 1322 Barlanark had been erected into a separate prebend, and on 12th May of that year Robert I. conferred on John Wishart, the canon, the privilege of free warren.² The holder of the prebend seems soon afterwards to have been styled Lord of Provan. When James IV. became a prebendary of the cathedral, it was as Canon of Barlanark and Lord of Provan. The prebend appears in Baiamond's Roll, in the Tax of the sixteenth century, and in the "Libellus Taxationum." But though its rectory or parsonage tithes are alluded to, and made to contribute, as was customary, along with those of parishes, no mention is ever made of its church. There may, indeed, have been a chapel within its territory, but it must have been altogether of a dependent nature.³ On the dissolution of the bishopric the lands came into the possession of James Hamilton of Silverston Hill, who sold them before 1669 to the city of Glasgow. They are particularly enumerated in the Act of Parliament which then ratified the charter and privileges of the city, and seem to have lain mostly to the west of the old town.⁴

(14) The parsonage of the Rector of Carstairs was in Rottenrow. After the Reformation it was acquired by Mr David Wemys, first Presbyterian minister of the city,⁵ and through his heir female

¹ Stuart's "Views and Notices of Glasgow," pp. 24, 25.

² See p. 83.

³ "A place marked on old maps as Chapelhill, to the eastward of the city, may perhaps indicate the site of a chapel connected with the prebend of Barlanark." ("Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 5).—ED.

⁴ "Orig. Par. Scot.," vol. i. p. 12. Marwick's "Charters and Documents," i. p. 233. See Regality Club Papers, p. 11, Art. "Blochairn."

⁵ See *supra*, p. 198.

it came by marriage into possession of John Hall, chirurgion, to whose heirs it still belonged in M'Ure's time.

The church of Castelerras, or Castelstarris, was one of the seventeen mensal churches of the bishops, who from a remote date had a residence there.¹ It was erected into a prebend before 1216, when the right of nominating the prebendary was confirmed to the Bishop by Pope Honorius III.

(15) The Prebendary of Erskine had his manse at the foot of Rottenrow on the south side. Before the Reformation the house was purchased from the Parson of Erskine, Mr David Stuart, and in 1736 the site was occupied by a modern house.

The lands of Blythswood belonged to this prebend, as was evidenced by a charter granted by Queen Mary to David Stuart the parson, extant in M'Ure's time. They were sold to George Elphinston, son of a Glasgow burgess, but though the purchaser became a crown vassal, the minister of Erskine continued to receive the feu-duty of the lands. In 1736 they belonged to Colin Campbell, and are now in the possession of Archibald Campbell, Lord Blythswood.

(16) The Rector of Renfrew had his parsonage on the north side of Rottenrow. "At the Reformation," says M'Ure, "the incumbent of Moffat, Mr John Wardlaw, gave it to a nephew of his own, a younger son of the house of Tory." This statement must be taken as a slip of the old historian, but is noticeable for the reason that it has given rise to the idea that Moffat was one of the prebends of Glasgow.² From the Wardlaws the house passed by purchase, first

¹ "Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 124, 125. See *supra*, pp. 77, 100.

² Gibson's "History," p. 50. See Wade's "Glasgow," p. 70, *note*. [Moffat, nevertheless, is mentioned as a prebend in a *Statutum de prebendis taxandis* in 1401.—"Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 320.—ED.]

to Mr John Bell, minister at Cardross, then to one of the ministers of Glasgow, and afterwards, says M'Ure, "to one Mr Crawford." The contemporary to whom M'Ure alludes thus superciliously appears to have been none other than George Crawford, the well-known historian of Renfrewshire. According to an extant deed,



Town Residence of the Rector of Renfrew, on north side of Rottenrow.

(From "*Views and Notices of Glasgow*," p. 22.)

the property was disposed of in 1752 by "Patricia, Bertheia, and Marion Crawford, lawful daughters of the deceased George Crawford, historiographer in Glasgow," for the sum of £140 sterling.¹ In 1825 this old manse was acquired by the Glasgow Gaslight Company, and in 1867 was occupied by some of their workmen.

¹ See "*Analecta Scotica*," Edin., 1836, i. 71. Crawford published his "*History of the Family of Stewart and Description of the Shire of Renfrew*" in 1710.

The ancient church of Renfrew,¹ dedicated to St James, stood on the site of the present parish church.

(17) The manse of the Rector of Govan stood in Rottenrow.²

Constantine, King of the Britons, is said to have founded a monastery at Govan, and the beautifully carved sarcophagus preserved in the churchyard there to the present day has been said to be his.³ Govan was granted to the See of Glasgow by David I.,⁴ and by Bishop Herbert, in 1148, with its church, dedicated to St Constantine, and the opposite lands of Partick, it was erected into a prebend.

(18) Kirkmahoe, a few miles north of Dumfries, was granted by David II. to the Abbey of Arbroath, and made a perpetual vicarage. It was afterwards acquired by Glasgow, and made a prebend, John Frost, the rector, consenting, in 1429. The church was dedicated to St Quintin.

(19) Tarbolton in Kyle, though a free rectory, was twice granted to the monks of Faile, a house of Trinity or Red Friars, whose "Minister," or head, had a seat in Parliament. The dedication of the church of Tarbolton cannot be found, but, having been acquired by Glasgow, the rectory was erected into a prebend by Bishop Cameron in 1429.⁵

(20) The Rector of Killearn, some fifteen miles north of Glasgow, was also created a prebendary in 1429 by Bishop Cameron.

(21) Douglas, in the county of Lanark, the church of which was dedicated to St Bridget or Bride, belonged formerly to the Abbey

¹ "Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 73.

² The canons had also frequently private property in the city. Thus Thomas Muirhead, Rector of Govan in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had a house on the south side of Drygate. See "Diocesan Registers," p. 365. *Supra*, p. 295.—ED.

³ See, however, Mr Honeyman's paper on the Sarcophagus, contributed to the Regality Club, p. 32.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 65, 66.

⁵ See *supra*, pp. 91, 210.

of Kelso. From the Abbey it passed into possession of the house of Douglas, and finally to the See of Glasgow. It was erected into a prebend about 1440. The church was for long the burial-place of the Douglasses, and within its walls are still preserved the silver cases containing the hearts of the Good Lord James, the friend of Bruce, and Archibald Bell the Cat, of the time of James III.¹

(22) The Rector of Eddleston had his parsonage near the head of Rottenrow. In 1565 it was disposed by Mr George Hay, the rector, to his brother, Mr Andrew Hay, Rector of Renfrew. From John Hay, son of the latter, also Rector of Renfrew, it came to Cornelius Crawford of Jordanhill, and in 1736 it belonged to the Incorporation of Weavers.

Eddleston, a few miles north-west of Peebles, was one of the earliest pertinents of the cathedral, being enumerated as one of the immemorial possessions of the see in the *Notitia* of David I.² Possibly at an earlier date still it was a possession of the pagan priesthood, as the chief summit of the district is still named Dundroich, the Druid's Hill. The church was erected into a prebend of Glasgow in 1401.

(23) The Rector of Stobo, in the county of Peebles, had his house below Wyndhead. It appears to have been built by Mr Adam Colquhoun, Rector of Stobo and Commissary of Glasgow, in the reign of James V., as his arms were to be seen on it in M'Ure's

¹ Regarding the four prebends above named, M'Ure states "the parsonage houses in Glasgow are so demolished that I cannot come to the knowledge of so much as where they stood." [It is just possible that they did not possess permanent lodgings (See Wade's "Glasgow," p. 84). We know that Patrick Graham, Rector of Killearn, rented a house from the Vicars Choral at 24s. per annum. —"Diocesan Registers," p. 410.—ED.]

² See *supra*, p. 64.

time.¹ In 1736 it belonged to Robertson of Bedlay, but about the middle of the eighteenth century it had disappeared.

Stobo was also one of the earliest possessions of the bishopric, being named in the *Notitia*. The most valuable of the prebends in Tweeddale, it possessed the four chapels or subordinate churches of Dawick, Drummelzier, Broughton, and Glenholm, known as the Pendicles of Stobo. At a visitation of the Chapter in 1501-2, the Prebendary of Stobo was censured, because during time of service he often went out and came into the choir.²

(24) The manse of the Rector of Luss belonged at one time to the lairds of Luss, and stood in Rottenrow.³ In 1582 it was occupied by Mr David Wemys, first Presbyterian minister of the city, and the College had then certain rights over it as successor to the Vicars of the Choir.⁴

The church of Luss was dedicated to St Kessag or MacKessog, a native of the place, who is said to have been martyred 560 A.D., and buried within the walls. Carn-na-Cheasog, the Cairn of Kessog, a mile south of the village, is said to mark the

¹ The Rector of Stobo appears previously to have had another lodging. "On 20th August 1509 the family of Lennox, so long identified with the affairs of Glasgow, acquired their first residence in the city, in the Stable-green, by purchase from Mr Adam Colquhoun, Rector of Stobo. The purchaser was Matthew Stewart, second Earl of Lennox, who was Provost of Glasgow in the year 1510. . . . It was in all probability this nobleman who, as Provost, led the citizens to the field of Flodden, not Sir John Stewart of Minto, who appears by a subsequent entry in the Protocol Book, to have died a year before the battle."—"Diocesan Registers," p. 18.—ED.

² "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," p. 611; "Orig. Par. Scot.," p. 196.

³ [Part of this property at least, under the name of the Pedagogy, became the early home of the Faculty of Arts. See *supra*, pp. 95-98; Cosmo Innes's "Sketches," p. 247, *note*; "Old Glasgow," p. 124.—ED.] The lairds of Luss are said to have resided latterly in a mansion called Burrell's Hall, on the east side of High Street, just below the Drygate. The front of this mansion was still standing in 1822, and from its ornamental masonry gave evidence of former consequence.

⁴ In 1590 Wemys is stated to have occupied "the tenement of Sir Bartilmo, between the Wyndhead and the Cross." In 1610 he was in a house "at the back of the High Kirk." It was probably after this that he acquired an interest in the manse of the Rector of Carstairs. See Michael Connal's pamphlet on St Nicholas's Hospital, p. 31.

spot where he was murdered. With consent of its patron, John de Colquhoun, Lord of Luss, Bishop Cameron erected the church into a prebend between 1426 and 1432.

(25) The Rector of Durisdeer, now a parish in the presbytery of Penpont and synod of Dumfries, was a prebendary of the cathedral in the fourteenth century. Vestiges of two chapels remain.¹

(26) Roxburgh, or Old Roxburgh, was a prebend as early as 1275. In 1337 Edward III. granted it to Andrew of Ormeston, ordering the Sheriff of Rokesburgh to cause him to have corporal possession, and the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow to assign him a stall in the choir. In 1348 the same king granted the prebend to Richard of Swynhope, and ordered William of Kelleseye, his chancellor and chamberlain of Berwick, to "remove the king's hand wholly from the said prebend, and to cause to be paid to the said Richard the fruits of that prebend, from the time at which it was given him, and to cause him to have peaceful possession of the same."² Old Roxburgh stood on the Tweed opposite Kelso, but has long disappeared.³

(27) The Rectory of Ashkirk, on the Ale Water, in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, was erected into a prebend before 1275. In 1448 the fruits and revenues of the vicarage—lambs' wool, calves, cheese, and whole tithes and offerings—were annexed to the prebend, Simon of Dalgles being prebendary. The prelates of Glasgow had a residence in the neighbourhood, in a field now

¹ At one time this prebend appears to have been attached to the office of Sub-Precentor. It was so in 1432 ("Reg. Epus. Glasg.," p. 346). See *supra*, p. 216.—ED.

² "Rotuli Scotiæ," i. 709; "Orig. Par. Scot.," i. 450, 496.

³ Mr George Kerr, prebendary of Old Roxburgh, rented a tenement in Rottenrow from the Vicars Choral in 1513, over which, thirty-five years earlier, there had been a lawsuit. (See "Diocesan Registers," p. 489; Marwick's "Charters and Documents," ii. 66; Macgeorge's "Old Glasgow," p. 61.)—ED.

called Palace Walls. The University of Glasgow is still superior of considerable land in the parish.

(28) Sanquhar, in Upper Nithsdale, was a prebend of Glasgow in the fifteenth century.¹

(29) The Rectory of Cumnock, subsequently a vicarage, was constituted a prebend in the fifteenth century.

(30) The Hospital of Polmadie, to the east of Gorbals, in the parish of Govan, was founded before 1249.² In 1427 the Hospital of Polmadie, united to the church of Strathblane, was erected into a prebend, of which the Bishop retained the patronage. The prebendary was to be a cleric *cantu bene et notabiliter instructus*, and was ordained to pay a vicar in the church of Strathblane, and to maintain and educate in singing, for the cathedral services, four boy choristers, giving them sixteen merks annually for their sustenance.³ On 16th February 1440, Duncan, Earl of Lennox, at an interview with the Bishop of Glasgow in the West Chapel of Edinburgh Castle, resigned all right which he or his progenitors had assumed over the Hospital of Polmadie, and its pertinents the church and church lands of Strathblane. In 1450 the church of Strathblane was severed from Polmadie, and was annexed to the collegiate church of Dunbarton, by Isabella, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox. St John's Hospital, Polmadie, was about a mile to the east of St Ninian's hospital for lepers, after which St Ninian's Street, south side, Glasgow, is named. The exact site cannot now be pointed out.

(31) The Parson of Ayr was a prebendary of Glasgow.

¹ "Reg. Epus. Glasg.," No. 342.

² In Hamilton's "Description of the Shyres of Lanark and Renfrew," pp. 198-243, are given thirteen charters bearing on this hospital. On 10th May 1391, Bishop Glendinning, at his manor of Lochwood, appointing Gillian Waugh a sister or portioner of the Hospital of Polmadie, for life.

³ See *supra*, p. 296.

THE STAINED GLASS WINDOWS.

By STEPHEN ADAM, F.S.A.Scot.



Capital in Blacader's Aisle.

THE "Descriptive Catalogue" states that "to Sir Andrew Orr, Lord Provost, the citizens are indebted for the first practical steps which led to the filling in of the Cathedral windows with painted glass." Appeal was made to the public, and in a comparatively short time the entire windows of the building were filled with glass of glowing colour and rich design. The first windows inserted—those of the lower church—were, under direction of H.M.

Board of Works, allowed to be of various schools and styles, British and foreign, and without regard to any scheme of decoration or arrangement of subject. The windows of the upper church were later, and their filling in was entrusted to a select committee of subscribers, in which the late Mr Charles Heath Wilson, architect, took a prominent part. Designs were invited from British and Continental artists and craftsmen, and

upon consideration of these the committee decided, with consent of the subscribers, to employ the Royal Establishment of Glass-

painting at Munich for the work. At the same time it was agreed that the subjects of the windows should follow a plan—the nave to contain a sequence of striking events in Old Testament history, and the choir to exhibit, by a series of parables and precepts, the more tender and peaceful teachings of Christ. These conclusions the committee and donors loyally carried out, as the windows remain to prove. As they stand, these windows present a series of interesting memorials of many of the most notable families of Glasgow and the west of Scotland. To arrive at an idea of their value as artistic productions, it is necessary to understand something of the different processes of staining and painting glass.



Joshua and Deborah, by Franz Friez.
Donor, Lord Belhaven, K.T.

ancient Egyptians as adepts in it, and beads of coloured glass are found in their constant use. In early Christian and Byzantine churches stained glass was but sparingly used,

The art of colouring glass is old enough. Pliny speaks of the

frescos and mosaics being the principal enrichment; but the art developed rapidly as Christianity progressed. Pope Leo III., in his early decoration of the Lateran, observed the beauty and fitness of coloured glass for expression of devotional feeling; and in all mediæval churches the stained glass windows were conspicuous ornaments. Many of these have survived to the present day, and it is impossible to look on them without realising the influence which must have been exercised over an unlettered but devout people, by these

“Storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.”

Theophilus describes in a quaint way how windows of coloured glass were made in the tenth century. The method employed by the glass-stainer of the nineteenth century differs only in the matter of tools and accessories. Instead, for instance, of the mediæval red-hot poker and sudden immersion in cold water, the modern craftsman uses a diamond for the cutting of his designs in glass. Hence sometimes the only way of getting at the date of glass is to examine its edge, and note whether it has been cut with poker, wheel, or diamond.

At the present day there are three distinct methods of producing a window of coloured glass—the pure mosaic, the enamel, and the mosaic-enamel.

A window designed on the principles of early work is entirely mosaic. That is to say, the window is executed in the same way as a mural mosaic or tiled floor, each bit of glass being a distinct colour in itself, bound and soldered within its lead band. The glass may be either “pot metal”—of one

colour throughout; or " flashed glass "—glass on which a thin coating of coloured glass has been floated in a molten state. For the purposes of the design, the surface of flashed glass may be eaten or etched away by wheel or acid, thus enabling the stainer to show another distinct colour on the same piece. For the shading of features and the like, it is also permissible to use a stain of yellow (silver) and brown (oxide of iron and manganese). These, on the glass being brought to a red heat in the kiln, fuse readily, and become part of the metal. By this process, it will be seen, many separate pieces of glass are necessary for even a simple design; but, though costly, it is durable, and experience has shown it to be the only style to which the term genuine stained glass can be truthfully applied. When properly used, it gives gem-like effects and a glimmering richness of tone which the painter on canvas may well envy. In ancient mosaic windows, it may also be remarked, the iron strengthening bars invariably formed part of the design, giving emphasis and effect to the grouped masses of colour.

In the enamel method, the surface of clear or coloured glass is painted in enamel or colour. Various pigments are employed for the purpose, and by this means more realistic pictorial effects can be got than are possible with the simple colours of mosaic. Various colours may be wrought on one piece of glass, leadwork is partially dispensed with, and the artist is enabled to elaborate details of costume and facial expression to almost any extent. Of purely enamel methods, the very finest modern examples extant are to be seen in the windows by Bertini of Milan, in the lower church.

Mosaic-enamel, again, is, as its name implies, a combination

of the two methods above described. In both cases in which enamel is used, of course, the colours after painting are submitted to heat in the kiln, and fused on the glass. They remain, however, merely on the surface, and in course of time are liable to scale off and disappear. From the artistic point of view, also, the enamel process has this objection—the windows are painted as if the light were to fall on them instead of through them. For this reason, they must be held to depart from the true canons of the art.

In early English work previous to 1280, we see correct and pure treatment of glass as glass—a clear recognition of the limits of the material for decorative purposes. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries canopies were introduced in windows.¹ Later on, figures were grouped in furnished apartments, architectural details and perspective were attempted, even landscapes were depicted, many enamel colours being used on one piece of glass. So, by the latter end of the sixteenth century stained windows were merely imitations of altar or wall pictures—"painted window-blinds," and untruthful art. In the seventeenth century, from the hostility of the people to everything connected with church



Christ and the Woman of Samaria,
in Lower Church.

Artist, Pompeo Bertini, Milan.

In Memory of James Reddie, Esq.,
Advocate, by his children.

¹ The same addition is to be noticed in the seals of the period. See plates of Bishops' Seals *supra*; also remarks by Archbishop Eyre on pp. 376, 377.—ED.

decoration, and in great measure from ignorance, the production of stained glass as an art became extinct. At a later day, Dutch and Flemish painted glass was introduced to this country, and very exquisite in detail some of it is. It remains, however, liable to all the drawbacks and objections mentioned above. An example of it may be seen at Oxford. Sir Joshua Reynolds was employed on the windows for New College chapel there. We can well imagine the cartoons to have been artistically fine, but the painted enamel surface of the glass has now all but vanished, leaving only the yellow stain and lead bands.

Some forty or fifty years ago a demand sprang up for "mediæval glass," to satisfy the Gothic architect of that time. The modern Gothic church wanted Gothic windows, and the stained glass shown at the first International Exhibition illustrates how the demand was met by the British manufacturer. Distorted saints, catalogued at prices per foot, became common; Acts of Mercy, Prodigal Sons, and Good Samaritans were cheap. But in no sense could they be called good art.

This was the condition of native stained glass production when Mr Heath Wilson and the committee of subscribers made selection of artists for the windows of Glasgow Cathedral. It may be said they were forced by circumstances to go abroad for the work. Unfortunately the enamel and mosaic-enamel methods were those followed by the school of artists employed. Hence it is to be feared that in the windows of Glasgow Cathedral lavish sums of money have been expended on what will not prove permanent memorials. Some of the windows have already begun to fade, and many of them, it is to be feared, are likely to present little more than faint traces of design before they are a century old.

The committee had been forced to "prefer art without transparency to transparency without art." They, however, did what lay within their power, by the selection of artists of eminence and repute. Chief of these was the Chevalier Maximilian E. Ainmüller, Inspector of the Royal Establishment of Glass-painting at Munich, who was well known as designer of windows in the cathedrals of Ratisbon, Cologne, and St Paul's, London. To him was committed the designing of all the ornamental and architectural details. Along with him was employed another director of the Munich school, and an artist of many titles and honours, Heinrich von Hess, whose work has rather a distinctive character. Besides these were Moritz von Schwind and Johann von Schraudolph, both professors in the Royal Bavarian Academy, with other six German artists, Franz Friez, George



The great west window, by Moritz von Schwind.
Four great events in Jewish history.

Fortner, Professor E. Siebertz, Alexander Strahuber, Heinrich Ainmüller, and Claudius Schraudolph. To these artists the windows of nave and choir and Lady Chapel were entrusted. For specimens of the work of British and Milanese artists the visitor must study the windows of sacristy, chapter-house, lower church, and Blacader's Aisle.

In the nave the windows strike the eye with the strength

and glow of intense colour. The primary reds, blues, yellows, and greens struggle for mastery. Amid this discord the eye



Gideon and Ruth, by Franz Friez.
Donors, sons of James Richardson, Esq. of Ralston.

presently begins to distinguish expressive and beautifully drawn features—heads of men, firm and strong; of women, sweet and natural. There are also effective figure groups, as in the great west window by Von Schwind, given by the Bairds of Gartsherrie; but these are marred by the repeated carpet-like patterns in vivid colours which surround them. All the windows are canopied, showing, as a rule, heraldry at base, with the names of the respective donors.

The north transept window, by Von Hess, given by the Duke of Hamilton, exhibits some splendidly drawn figures, and would be a noble production but for the chronic over-colouring. In this latter respect it is balanced by Von Schwind's window in the south transept. Several of the lower

windows, the Joshua and Deborah, Gideon and Ruth, Samuel and Hannah, by Franz Friez, arrest attention forcibly; but their fitness for position in a venerable mediæval building may be

questioned, and note must be made of the enamelled flash work, the painted beards of men, the over-manipulated folds of draperies, and other infringements of the true rules of glass-staining art. The figures are vigorous and bold conceptions, perfect in academic drawing; but it is secular drawing, it is too literal, too material, and quite devoid of spiritual or ecclesiastical feeling. The accessory angels are excessively buxom and healthy, and all their strength of wing would be required to sustain them in their hovering attitudes.

In the clerestory of the nave single figures are shown, some of them very fine in

colour. But there are objections to placing deeply coloured windows in a clerestory, when the nave and transept windows have already sufficiently obscured the light, as they render it impossible to make out many beauties of the stone carving of the interior.



The great east window, by Johann von Schraudolph.
The four Evangelists.
Donor, Her Majesty the Queen.

In the choir, possibly owing to the eye and brain being sated with the strong windows in the transepts, one has the impression that the windows, with one exception, are weak and insipid. Throughout the whole series, with the single exception noted, appear the same German characteristics—brilliant yellow canopies, set against vivid patterned backgrounds of primary blues and rubies, with the heraldry of the donors filling up the base. They contain carefully painted skies and horizon landscape effects, relieving figure groups—all, it may be said, very expressively depicted, and each window telling its story intelligibly. The exception referred to is the window by Claudius Schraudolph, depicting Christ rising from the dead. Here the posture of the figures and manner of expressing the event appear rendered in a forcible, if somewhat dramatic, style, in contrast with the placidity and arrangement of the figures in groups beside it. The colouring, too, is strong, but not inharmonious.

The clerestory of the choir is being filled with single figures of holy women—the Blessed Virgin, Martha, Lois, Eunice, Lydia, etc., and some excellent colour is to be seen in them.

The figures of saints and apostles, by Ainmüller, in the graceful lancet windows of the Lady Chapel, are admirable for their drawing, the devoutness of their postures, and their full notes of colour.

In the sacristy the windows, of London glass, but poorly represent English art. They are chilly with cold blues and purples, and contain many overwrought details; but are more transparent and glass-like than the Munich windows.

Owing to the gloom of the nave and transept windows, the

descent to the lower church is made with difficulty. Here, amid the work of various schools, the windows by Bertini of Milan especially arrest attention. These, having for subjects "O woman, great is thy faith," John the Baptist (in memory of the celebrated Edward Irving), and St Luke, all bear the closest scrutiny. As examples of enamel work they rival in perfection of detail, and truthful rendering of faces and draperies, the finest miniature paintings. The silky sheen of the drapery, and life-like expression of features, can only have been got by honest and loving labour, and by repeated firing and fusing of colours in the kiln. To this is mainly to be attributed their present satisfactory condition. With regret it is to be noticed, by way of contrast, that the German windows, notably the seated figure of Christ given by the Messrs Stevenson, engineers, are rapidly fading. The Edinburgh windows are extremely careful in execution and colour, standing well, but are over-painted. The London windows here again, with one exception, do not uphold the reputation of English glass. Of the exception, "Mary the sister of Lazarus," by Messrs Clayton & Bell, the good qualities are emphasised by contrast with a German window beside it, of aggressive type.

In Blacader's Aisle none of the windows comes within the scope of art work. Some of them are evidently amateur



St John the Baptist,
by Pompeo Bertini, Milan.
Given by John Ferguson, Esq.

productions, depicting prettily dressed angels and marionette-like groups.



The Resurrection. Designed by Professor Hubner, Dresden; painted by C. Scheinert, Meissen. Given in memory of Captain Andrew Hamilton, 23rd Lancers, by his widow and daughters. The first painted window placed in the cathedral.

In reviewing the whole subject, one or two additional remarks may be made. To a thoughtful eye it must appear incongruous that in the windows of a peaceful church, a house of prayer, so much prominence should be given to heraldry. Here are to be seen windows illustrating the beatitudes—"Blessed are the meek, the peacemakers," etc., and almost mingling with the picture are warlike scrolls, with blood-curdling mottoes, such as "E'en do, and spare nocht." A sanctuary would seem of all places the least fitted for exhibition of family pride and the exploits of a rude ancestry. Moreover, the windows altogether may be said to form too prominent a feature of the cathedral's interior. Architects and artists, men of skill and taste, have in recent years unhesitatingly declared the cathedral windows, notwithstanding their many good qualities, to be disturbing and distracting elements in the general effect. Especially must it be remarked, despite the beauty of the Milan windows, and the excellence of a few others, that the presence of deeply coloured windows in the lower church at all is, from

every point of view, a serious mistake. That part of the edifice was never intended to have painted windows; its beauties of

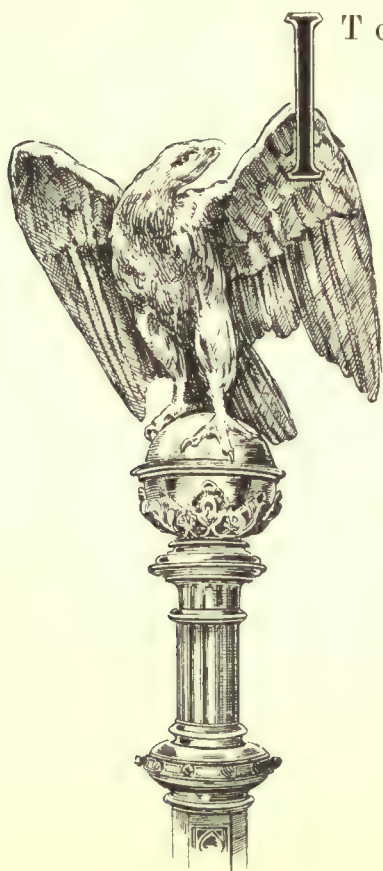
carved stone were certainly meant to be seen by the light of day. The original windows were no doubt leaded work in silvery white or "grisaille" patterned glass, such as may still be seen in Salisbury and other southern cathedrals to the present hour.

As a different general scheme which might have been followed, it may be suggested that the east and west windows, and certain recessed windows of the cathedral, would have given ample scope for the use of richly coloured glass, that the windows of the nave, clerestory, and lower church might well have been of a lighter and more geometrical style of leaded glass, admitting light, with perhaps smaller figure subjects or even heraldry panelled into them, or interlaced on silvery foliated grounds, as in the best examples of early English work.

Altogether it does not seem too much to say that, had the condition of decorative art work in Britain been in the year 1854 what it is in 1898, our noble cathedral would have been beautified more in the spirit and intention of the devout and earnest souls who reared it—an eloquent inheritance of past memories, preserved to be an honour and glory to the city in every respect.

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE REV. PEARSON M'ADAM MUIR, D.D.



The Lectern.¹

IT can hardly be claimed for the monuments in Glasgow Cathedral, as compared with monuments in other cathedrals, that they are without equal in number, in beauty, or in interest. Yet they are numerous, not a few of them are pleasing objects in themselves, some of them have remarkable associations, and all of them combined, in their varied dates and styles, bring before us incidents and episodes worthy of remembrance, recall men and women who played their part in the progress and development of the cathedral and the Church, of the city and the nation. The part which they played might not be prominent. The stranger who pauses to read the epitaphs is probably unacquainted with many of the names. He does not find himself in a place intended

[¹ INSCRIPTION :—"This lectern was presented to the Reverend George Stewart Burns, D.D., by the Congregation of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, on the close of the twenty-fifth year of an able and faithful ministry there, as a token of respect and affectionate regard, and was given by him for the service of that Church, 22nd June 1890."

One morning, shortly after its introduction, the lectern was discovered by the vergers overturned and broken. The miscreant, who had apparently concealed himself in the cathedral, and, after committing the sacrilege, escaped by one of the lower windows, was never discovered.—ED.]

to honour merely those who in rank, in genius, in act, have stood high in the estimation of the world. There is doubtless something inspiring in a building which contains the dust or celebrates the achievements only of the great and the famous. It is this which constitutes much of the charm of Westminster Abbey, which has formed the burden of the pensive sketches of Addison, of Goldsmith, and of Washington Irving. In Westminster it would seem as if only the royal or the noble by birth, the illustrious by reputation, or the powerful by position, had a right to be named, as if it were presumption for the lowly and the unrenowned to be mentioned, as if they should, in Goldsmith's phrase, be "ashamed to be seen among company where even moderate merit would look like infamy."¹

Yet there is much to be said for the adoption of an opposite principle. It is not simply the great and the famous who should be honoured. In the place where men have passed useful lives, in the circle where they were fondly loved, it is natural and right that their names should be handed down. The Church, it may be reasonably argued, ought not to enshrine the names only of the eminent. The base and the unworthy should indeed be excluded from her praises. The fulsome laudation of the rich merely because they are rich, the attributing of virtues to the notoriously vile, the attributing of intellectual power to the notoriously stupid, cannot be commended; but it is surely appropriate that the Church should keep alive the remembrance of those who would be forgotten by the world, of "the faithful who were not famous," whose lives were beneficial though

¹ "Citizen of the World."

uneventful, who in the unromantic walks of their business or their profession were honest and diligent, who exercised such influence as they had inherited or acquired, in benefiting their fellows, in beautifying their native city, in upholding the good name of their country in the distant sphere where their lot was cast.

A survey of the monuments in Glasgow Cathedral will lead to the conclusion that public gratitude and private affection have been well guided, that very few, if any, which should have been excluded, have found an entrance, that, although not many names of universal or even imperial renown are visible, yet the names which we do read are calculated to make us prouder of the city and the country to whose service lives so useful and so honourable have been dedicated. Of the monuments in themselves, of their excellences or defects as works of art, one more competent must speak. This paper is mainly concerned with those whom the monuments commemorate. It cannot give a complete catalogue, much less an exhaustive account, even of these, but the selection of a few representative names may not be without interest and instruction.

Of ancient monuments there are few. The first name of which we naturally think is that of St Kentigern, and the shrine where his remains are supposed to rest may be regarded as his monument.¹ The name of Fergus, by whom Kentigern is traditionally said to have been directed to Glasgow, is preserved in the Blacader Aisle. The legend regarding Fergus, and his burial here, is given in Jocelyn's "Life of St Kentigern."² As we enter the Blacader Aisle we may discover on the low roof the words,

¹ See pp. 36, 229, 250.

² See *supra*, pp. 11 and 23.

"This is the ile of Car Fergus," and a rude likeness of a monk lying on a car.

The stone coffins near St Mungo's shrine may properly be classed among monuments, but whose remains they were which once reposed within them cannot now be known. On the other hand, the remains of persons distinguished in their own day, and still remembered, have been removed, and nothing marks the spot where they lay. The coffins of Archbishop Dunbar and Archbishop Boyd, which rested between two pillars to the south of the spot where the communion table stands, were uncovered during repairs in the year 1804. The tomb of Archbishop Boyd was ransacked one night by some youths, the ringleader of the irreverent band being one who afterwards occupied an honoured position in the city, and who especially, as if to make amends for the sacrilegious freak of his early days, did much for the cathedral. The other coffin, that of Archbishop Dunbar, remained unmolested till the alterations of 1855, and then, on being opened, was found to contain "an entire skeleton in a state of perfect preservation" . . . "and, covering a portion of the skeleton, the remains of a fringed silk vestment presenting a brownish appearance." The bones were, for some reason, removed to a grave "dug for their reception at the foot of the steps leading from the great western entrance into the cathedral."¹

There is only one recumbent effigy, that of Bishop Wishart. It now rests in the open arch of one of the cross walls at

¹ "Notices of Sculptured Fragments, formerly in the Episcopal Palace, Glasgow; also Notice of a Sarcophagus found within the Choir of the Cathedral, supposed to have contained the remains of Archbishop Dunbar," by J. C. Roger, F.S.A.Scot. (From the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii. part iii. Read 15th December 1856.)



Monument of Bishop Robert Wishart.

the east end of the lower church. At one time it was placed in St Mungo's shrine, and was supposed to be the effigy of St Mungo himself. There is, however, everything to disprove that it was meant for St Mungo, and much to prove that it was meant for Bishop Wishart. It is to be regretted that not only is this effigy headless, but that in order to fit it for the space which it now occupies, "the lion at the feet has had to be cut away."¹ Bishop Wishart was a typical ecclesiastic of his time. He took an active share in the War of Independence. Brave, sagacious, not over-scrupulous, he opposed by word and deed the domination of the English. He was a devout son of the Church, and he was a man of honour; but in the excess of his patriotism he paid no heed to consecrated things, and regarded plighted faith as of no account. With the timber which Edward I. granted for the steeple of the cathedral, the doughty bishop constructed engines of war for besieging Edward's garrison in the Castle of Kirkintilloch. He gave Bruce absolution for the slaughter of Red Comyn. He took the oath of allegiance to Edward six times, and broke it as often. It is not surprising that when he fell into the hands of the English he should have endured a long and rigorous imprisonment. It would have gone worse with him had Edward not fortunately been "afraid to dip his hands in clerical blood."² Wishart was liberated after the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. He died in 1316, and was buried in the cathedral.³

¹ M'Gibbon and Ross, "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland," ii. 178. See also Mr Honeyman's remarks, p. 272, *supra*.

² Hill Burton, "History of Scotland."

³ See *supra*, pp. 74-81.

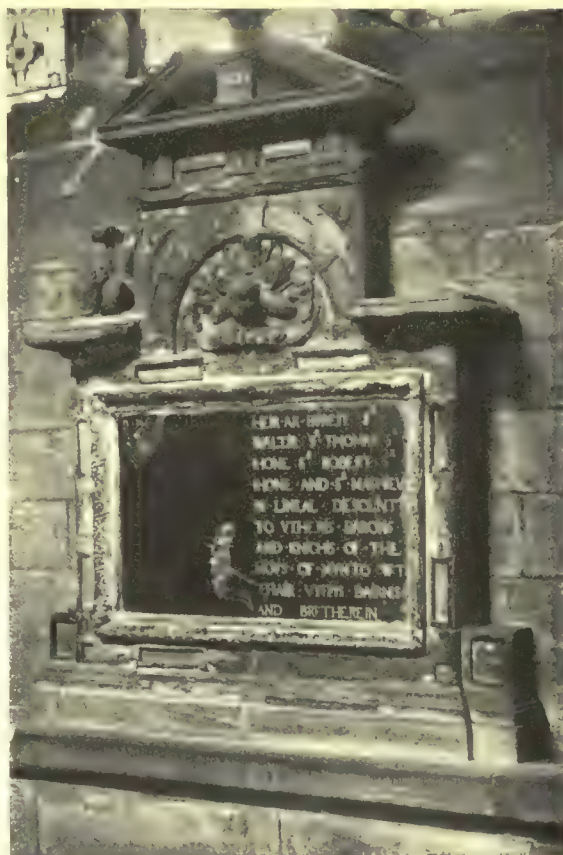
Beside St Mungo's Well in the south-east of the lower church there is an altar-tomb on which is the legend:—"Here lyis ane honorabill woman Dame Margaret Colquhoun Lady Boyd . . ." The father of Dame Margaret, George Colquhoun of the ancient family of Luss, had married "Margaret, daughter of Alexander Boyd, bailie of Kilmarnock during the forfeiture of the Boyd family, son of Robert Lord Boyd, Great Chamberlain of Scotland." Dame Margaret, who was the sole heiress of her father, married, in 1535, "Robert Boyd, her cousin-german; and by this marriage the estates of Glens, Bedlay, Banheath, Stablegreen of Glasgow, and other lands, passed to the family of Boyd. Robert Boyd was restored to the estates and honours of Lord Boyd before 1st September 1548, when their son, the Master of Boyd, granted a charter of the lands of Law in Kilbride"¹ to his mother. She died in 1595, and was buried in Glasgow Cathedral.

This was not the only intermarriage between the Boyds and the Colquhouns. In 1564 Sir John Colquhoun, "thirteenth of Colquhoun and fifteenth of Luss," took for his second wife Agnes, daughter of Robert, fourth Lord Boyd. As they were within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, a dispensation for their marriage had to be obtained from the Papal Legate. One of their daughters, Jean, married Sir Mathew Stewart of Minto.² On the south wall of the nave is a brass dated 1606, on which is represented a knight in armour kneeling before the Divine Radiance, and on which is the inscription: "Heir are buriet S^r Walter S^r Thomas S^r Johne S^r Robert S^r Johne and S^r Mathiew

¹ "The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country," by William Fraser, vol. ii. 260.

² *Idem.*, vol. i. 138.

by lineal descent to vtheris Barons and Knichts of the Hovs of Mynto wt thair vyffis bairnis and bretherein." It is probable, therefore, that not only Sir Mathew Stewart but his wife, Jean Colquhoun, was buried in the cathedral. The Stewarts of Minto had had a long and close connection with Glasgow. Several heads of the house were Provosts;¹ and Sir Mathew built houses in the Drygate.² It is a curiosity of history that the likeness of a grand-niece of Sir Mathew, Miss Frances Theresa Stewart of Minto, afterwards Duchess of Richmond, appears as *Britannia* on our copper coinage, Charles II. having instructed the Master of the Mint to take her as the model for the emblematic figure of the nation.



Brass of the Stewarts of Minto.

¹ It was under Sir John Stewart of Minto, as Provost, that the Magistrates of Glasgow, in 1572, conferred upon the college the old Blackfriars Church and thirteen acres of land, with all the property of the Dominican Friars within the city, at the same time releasing the college from all ordinary taxation and jurisdiction (Cleland's "Statistical Tables," 1828, p. 165). Sir Mathew Stewart it was who, as Provost, in 1581 carried out the king's instructions to instal Archbishop Montgomerie. Mr Howieson, as Moderator, apparently protested, and, in consequence of the scuffle which ensued, having had several of his teeth knocked out, denounced the judgment of God on Sir Mathew and his house. According to popular opinion, it was in consequence of this curse that, in the course of the following century, the family of Minto became greatly reduced (M'Ure, "Glasghu Facies," i. 114). See also *supra*, pp. 144, 392, *note*.—ED.

² See *supra*, p. 379.

The first President of the Glasgow Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Dr Peter Lowe, lies buried in the graveyard. The quaint inscription on his tombstone, dated 1612, has, on account of its being worn out and defaced, not only been repeated on a stone hard by, but has also been reproduced within the cathedral on a slab on the north wall of the nave:—

“Stay passenger and view this stone,
 For under it lyis such a one,
 Who cured many while he lieved,
 So gracious he noe man grieved;
 Yea, when his physick’s force oft failed,
 His pleasant purpose then prevailed,
 For of his God he got the grace
 To live in mirth and die in peace.
 Heaven hes his soul, his corps this stone.
 Sigh passenger and soe be gone.
 Ah me! I gravell am and dust,
 And to the grave deshend I most.
 O painted piece of living clay,
 Man, be not proud of thy short day.”

The wife of Dr Lowe was a daughter of the Rev. David Wemys, the first minister of the “Inner High Church” after the Reformation.

The memorial which may come next in point of date is the monument to Archbishop Law, which stands in the south corner of the East Aisle. James Law was minister of Kirkliston towards the end of the sixteenth century, and bishop of Orkney in the beginning of the seventeenth. In 1615 he became Archbishop of Glasgow, and died there in 1632. “He completed the leaden roof of the cathedral, and bestowed considerable largesses on schools and hospitals in the city.”¹

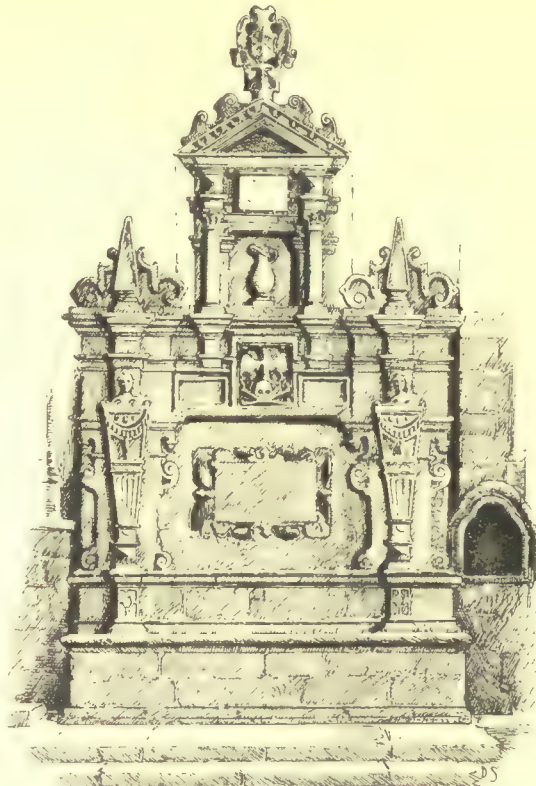
¹ Charles Rogers, LL.D., “Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland,” i. 461. See *supra*, p. 193.

His character and life are summed up in the epitaph on the monument, which has been thus translated:—

"I liv'd well enough: because my mind
Unto my baser part was not confin'd:
Christ and Religion was my love and care:
All other things in me had little share.
Some monuments do swell with titles proud
Unto the skies as if they cried aloud.
Archbishop Law here in a homely dress
Was truly more than what words can express.
Witness his acts at Orkney, and beside,
His grand memories left on the banks of Clyde,
The College rents, the Schools, the Hospitals,
The leaden covert 'bove the Church's walls;
Of this great man such monuments fair be,
As well forbid his noble name to dee.
A good and spotless age did him attend
Worthy a Prelate to his blessed end

He died 13th October 1632.

All men must tread the path of Death; but he
Who follows Christ therein shall saved be."¹

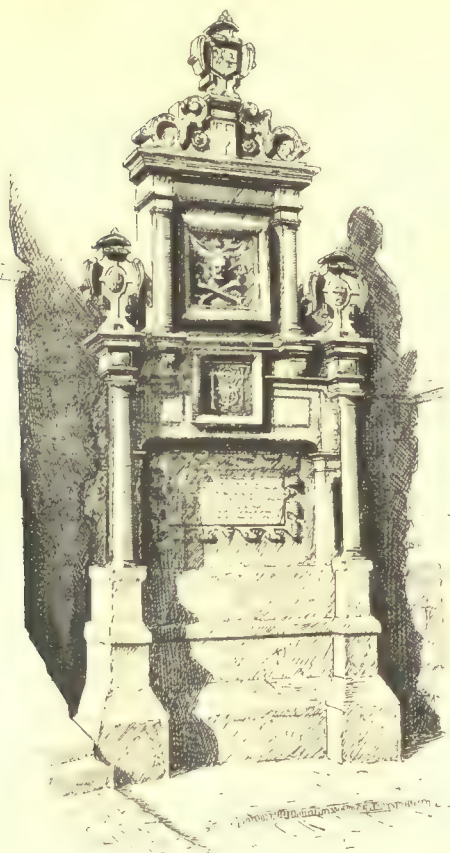


Monument of Archbishop Law in the Lady Chapel.

The "largesses" of Archbishop Law on "schools and hospitals" have not been so enduring as those of his contemporaries, George and Thomas Hutcheson of Lambhill, whose school and hospital, founded in 1639–41, still rank among the most useful and active institutions in the city. The brothers were buried in the graveyard of the cathedral, and on the monument which stands to the east of the south door, and which is supposed to have been erected by his energetic and excellent, though

¹ M'Vean, quoted in "Glasgow Cathedral: its Transitions, Epochs, and Ministers," by J. F. S. Gordon, D.D.

somewhat litigious, widow, Marion Stewart, Thomas Hutcheson is specially commemorated. The Latin inscription has been rendered in rhyme:—



Monument of Thomas Hutcheson.

"Here sleepeth Thomas Hutcheson, at rest
From all the crowd of human hopes and fears;
His life's whole course attendant virtue blest,
And wealth with virtue crowned his later years.
Brief were those years! He wisely sought to obtain,
Instead of lifelong luxury and pride,
Those joys which charity alone can gain;
He gave his riches to the poor and died.
Ah! human bliss is transient and unstable;
Days, months, and years are but a tiny span,
A human life a false, feigned, fleeting fable—
The vanity of vanities is man."¹

The usual place of sepulture for the clergy after the Reformation was the Blacader Aisle. But in the aisle itself, their monuments or names are scarcely to be discovered. There are not a few memorial initials with dates, rudely carved on the west wall. Among them may be read "J. D. 1658." These are unquestionably the initials of James

Durham, and the date of his death. Durham was a man of independent means, a landed proprietor, of studious habits and devout disposition. He entered the army in his youth, and attained the rank of captain. The depth of his religious

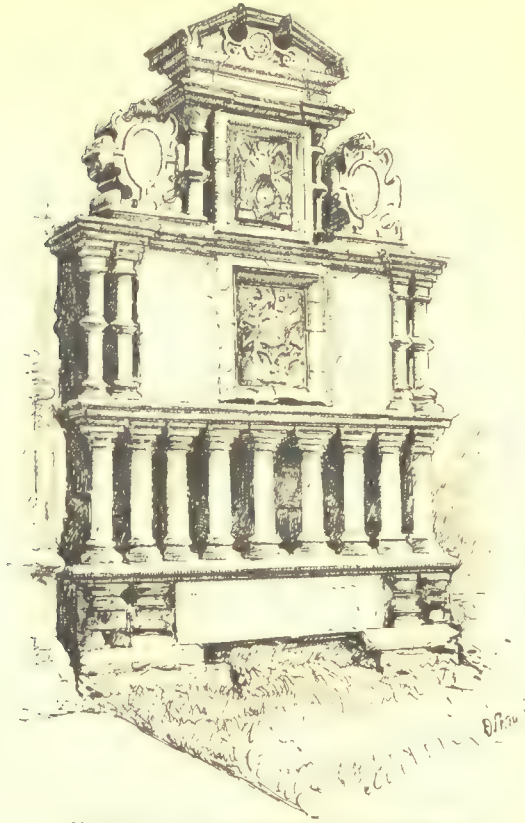
¹ "History of the Hospital and School in Glasgow, founded by George and Thomas Hutcheson," by Wm. H. Hill, p. 50. [The brothers bequeathed, for pensions and education, 60,700 merks.—ED.]

feelings induced him to give up the army for the ministry of the Church. In due time he was appointed to Blackfriars. It happened that he was preaching in the Outer High Church when Cromwell unexpectedly made his appearance, and Mr Durham took the opportunity of denouncing the invasion. He did so apparently with greater moderation and tact than worthy Zachary Boyd on a similar occasion. When Cromwell came into the church, "the first seat that offered him," according to Wodrow, "was Provost Porterfield's, where Miss Porterfield sat, and she, seeing him, an English officer, she was almost not civil. However, he got in, and sat with Miss Porterfield. After sermon was over, he asked the minister's name. She sullenly enough told him, and desired to know wherefore he asked. He said: 'Because he perceived him to be a very great man, and in his opinion might be chaplain to any prince in Europe, though he had never seen him nor heard of him before.'"¹

Mr Durham had already become not only Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, but chaplain to the king's family. He won the respect and affection of the courtiers, though he acted as a check upon them. "Whenever he went about the duties of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightness and profanity." He must have been rather out of his element in the Court of the Merry Monarch, and we can well understand that Charles had no particular desire for his constant company, if the description given by Wodrow is correct. "Mr Durham was a person of the utmost composure and gravity, and it was

¹ Chambers's "Eminent Scotsmen," ii. 202.

much made him smile. In some great man's house, Mr Wm. Guthry and he were together at dinner, and Mr Guthry was



Monument of Mrs Hamilton of Aikenhead
in the Cathedral Yard.

INSCRIPTION ON THE MONUMENT.

Ye gazers on this trophie of a tomb
Send out ane grone for want of her whose life
Once born of earth and now lyes in earth's womb,
Lived long a virgin, then a spotless wife.
Here lyes enclosed man's griefe, earth's loss, friend's paine,
Religions lampe, vertue's light, heaven's gaine.
Dumb senseless statue of some lyfeless stones,
Rear'd up for memorie of a blessed soule,
Thou holds but Adam, Adam's blood bemones
Her loss, she's fled, none can her joys controule.
O happy thou for zeale and Christian love,
On earth belov'd, and now in heaven above.

1616.

of the man could be than that, when the two contending factions of Resolutioners and Protesters in the Synod of

exceeding merry, and made Mr Durham smile, yea, laugh at his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary of the family to pray after dinner, and immediately after their mirth it was put upon Mr Guthry to pray, and as he was wont, he fell immediately into the greatest measure of seriousness and fervency, to the astonishment and moving of all present. When he rose from prayer, Mr Durham came to him and embraced him, and said, 'O Will, you are a happy man. If I had been sae daft as you have been, I could not have been serious nor in any frame for forty-eight hours.'"¹

Durham was translated from Blackfriars to the Inner High Church in 1651. No plainer tribute to the conciliatory nature

¹ Chambers's "Eminent Scotsmen," ii. 203. See also *supra*, pp. 201, 205.

Glasgow met separately, they each elected him Moderator, and he refused to take part in their discussions until they should unite. He died in 1658, at the age of thirty-six, his constitution undermined by the severity of his study. His books were for many a day in great repute among the pious people of Scotland.

The memory of the later Covenanters is preserved by a monument on the outside of the "Martyrs' Vault."¹ "Here lies the corps of Robert Bunton, John Hart, Robert Scot, Mathew Patoun, John Richmond, James Johnston, Archibald Stewart, James Winning, John Main, who suffered at the Cross of Glasgow, for their testimony to the Covenant and work of Reformation, because they durst not own the authority of the then tyrants, destroying the same betwixt 1666 and 1688.

"Years sixty-six and eighty-four
Did send their souls home into glore,
Whose bodies here interred ly,
Then sacrificed to tyranny,
To Covenants and Reformation,
'Cause they adhered in their station.
These nine, with others in this yard,
Whose heads and bodies were not spar'd,
Their testimonies, foes to bury
Caus'd beat the drum then in great fury.
They'll know at resurrection day
To murder saints was no sweet play."

Scarcely any monuments appear to have been erected in the cathedral during the eighteenth century. The first name

¹ Otherwise "The Hall of the Vicars Choral." See *supra*, p. 292.—ED.

to be recorded is that of "Andrew Cochrane, Burgess of Glasgow, who, though born of an honourable race, and reared in the



Monument of Andrew Cochrane.

liberal arts, devoted himself to mercantile affairs in this city, and that not without prosperity. Having been several times chief magistrate in the city, he gave an example in iniquitous times, and during the fury of the civil war, of a just and sagacious ruler. By his activity and prudence in pleading the cause of the city before the British House of Lords, he obtained the restitution of the tribute which the enemies of our country and of liberty had violently taken. He was esteemed as learned in the laws and the history of his country, and as instructed by long experience. Eloquent and erudite was he among friends, and at the convivial board; even

when aged, he was pleasant and merry. At length, having reached his 85th year, he finished a long and honourable life on the 9th of June 1777."¹ The monument to this public-

¹ The inscription is in Latin. The above translation is on a card in the cathedral.

[A portrait of this provost was included in Old Glasgow Exhibition in 1894, and is reproduced in the Illustrated Catalogue, p. 154. According to this catalogue, Andrew Cochrane of Brighthouse was born at Ayr in 1693, and became a merchant and banker in Glasgow. He was one of the early traders to Virginia, and in 1750 founded the Glasgow Arms Bank. He was provost in 1744-45, and conducted the affairs of the city with much tact during the visit of Prince Charles Edward and the Jacobite army to Glasgow in the first days of 1746. He was chief magistrate again in 1760-61, and is remembered as "the greatest of our provosts."—ED.]

spirited citizen and agreeable companion stands to the south of the west door.

Among the few belonging to the eighteenth century who are commemorated in the cathedral, it is singular that a considerable proportion of them should be the early dead. Thus, on the south entrance to the lower church, we are met by tributes of regard to two young officers. One was "John Jennings, Esq. of Fulham, in the County of Middlesex, Captain of Grenadiers in the 30th Regiment, who departed this life the 25th October 1779, in the 23rd year of his age. The officers of the 30th Regiment, deeply affected with the loss of their deservedly beloved and justly lamented brother, have placed this stone." The other was Captain Henry Addison, of the 56th Regiment, who, having undergone the horrors of the siege of Gibraltar, which lasted from July 1779 till February 1783, and for its share in which the 56th Regiment "bears the Castle and Key with the motto '*Montis Insignia Calpe*,'" ¹ died of fever at Glasgow in 1788, while still only 25 years of age.

Then, as we descend to the lower church by the north entrance, we are met by the names of a young student of divinity, William Crichton, M.A., who died in 1784, at the age of 19; and of a young student of civil law, "James Home Purves, younger son of Alexander Purves of Purves, Knight Baronet, who by his refinement of talents, the character of his virtues, and the sweetness of his manners, gave to his friends the best promise of his career, and won the love of all. He breathed out his

¹ Trimen, "Regiments of the British Army."

spirit in the 18th year of his age, on the 20th December, in the year of our Lord 1795.”¹

In the nave, on the north wall, there is a tribute to the memory of George and James Williamson, who died in January 1793, aged respectively 15 and 13, the sons of James Williamson, D.D., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow, and of his wife Catherine Sutherland. “Dear boys! adorned with every gift of mind and heart, now that alas! ye are gone, we may follow you with the voice of praise: although ye have departed to the enjoyment of greater reward than can be attained among men, yet have ye left to friends and parents a memory to be for ever cherished.”

And, also in the nave, we come upon the name of the youthful and brilliant Professor of Anatomy and Botany, William Hamilton, who died in 1790, in the 32nd year of his age. Of him, on his appointment as his father's successor, it was said, “It is the interest of Glasgow to give him, rather than his to solicit, the appointment.” In a quite unusual degree, he won the admiration and affection of all classes. “Few even of those who have departed in the pride of life, in the enjoyment of talents, hope, and prosperity, seem to have caused greater regret, and it cannot be doubted that it was deserved. As a lecturer, his manner was remarkably free from pomp and affectation. His language was simple and perspicuous, but so artless that it appeared flat to those who place the beauty of language in the intricacy of arrangement or the abundance of

¹ Translation in “Glasgow Cathedral: its Transitions, Epochs, and Ministers,” by J. F. S. Gordon, D.D.

figures. His manner of speaking corresponded with his style, and was such as might appear uninteresting to those who think it impossible to be eloquent without violent gestures and frequent variations of tone. He used nearly the tone of ordinary conversation, aiming at perspicuity only, and trusting for attention to the importance of the subjects he treated.”¹

If the most of those commemorated in the eighteenth century died young, there is one whose career began almost with its beginning, and continued almost to its close: “John Bowman, Esquire of Ashgrove, late Lord Provost of this city, who, with Christian perseverance, supported the trials and fulfilled the duties of a long and valuable life. Born December 18, 1701, he slept November 24, 1797, and waits his Lord’s reviving call in the neighbouring consecrated ground of this ancient sanctuary, where also are interred his father, John Bowman, Esquire, who likewise served his fellow-citizens as a worthy chief magistrate, and his pious brother William.”

John Hamilton, D.D., Moderator of the General Assembly in 1766, was thirty-one years minister of the High Church. He died in 1780, and was buried in the Blacader Aisle. Along with him are there commemorated “John Hamilton of North Park, his eldest son, thrice Lord Provost of Glasgow, born 1754, died 1829; George Hamilton, second son, born 1756, died 1796; Helen Boyle, wife of the said John Hamilton, born 1758, died 1825; Archibald Hamilton, eldest son of the said John Hamilton, born 1784, died 1860; Margaret Boyle, his wife, born 1788, died 1836, all buried here. This plate has been placed here as a

¹ Chambers’s “Eminent Scotsmen,” iii. 6, 7.

tribute of affection by George William Hamilton, late of Calcutta, youngest son of the above Archibald Hamilton, 1866."

The first death to be recorded in the present century is that of John Orr of Barrowfield, Advocate, Principal Town Clerk of Glasgow, who died in 1803. He was in youth engaged to a young lady, but, changing his mind, he wished to be released.



Burying-place in Cathedral Yard, showing iron grill used as a protection in "Resurrectionist" times.

One of his letters having been signed "Your affectionate Husband," he was declared by the Court to be legally married. He refused to live with the wife thus forced upon him, and she obtained a divorce on the ground of desertion. "Mr Orr's future conduct," says "Senex" in his "Old Glasgow and its Environs," "was such as to command the highest respect from all classes in Glasgow as a gentleman of strict honour and integrity, discharging all his

duties, public and private, without reproach. In 1794 Mr Orr was elected Captain Commandant of the Glasgow Volunteer Light Horse by the votes of the troop, on which occasion I had the pleasure of giving him my vote, and can vouch for his general affability and gentlemanly manner during the time that he was our Captain Commandant. He was a first-rate horseman in his early days, but in 1794 the gout prevented his being very agile at a rapid charge of the troop, or at the Austrian sword exercise. The monument to his memory in the cathedral was erected by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, and 'records the sense entertained by a grateful community of the zeal, talents, and integrity displayed by him during a period of twenty-two years, in discharging the various duties of a most important office.'"

One memorial of the war which desolated Europe in the early years of the century appears in the cathedral, the monument, in the nave, "To the memory of the Honourable Henry Cadogan, Lieut.-Col. of the 71st or Glasgow Regiment, Honorary Burgess of this city, who gloriously fell at the head of his Battalion in the ever-memorable Battle of Vittoria, June 21, 1813, aged 33 years." The loss of the 71st in that battle was great. Besides Colonel Cadogan, there fell Captain Hall, Lieutenants Fox and Mackenzie, 6 sergeants, 1 bugler, and 78 rank and file; while Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Cother, Captains Reed, Pidgeon, and Grant, Lieutenants Duff, Richards, M'Intyre, Cox, Torriano, Campbell, and Cummeline, 13 sergeants, 2 buglers, and 255 rank and file were wounded. "On the 20th of June," such is a brief description of the way in which Colonel Cadogan so "gloriously fell"—"on the 20th of June, the battalion, along

with the rest of its division, encamped at La Puebla, in the neighbourhood of Vittoria. On the morning of the 21st, the two armies being in position, the 71st was ordered to ascend the heights of La Puebla to support the Spanish forces under General Morillo. Forward they moved up the hill under a very heavy fire, in which fell mortally wounded their commander, Colonel Cadogan, who, in falling, requested to be carried to a neighbouring height, from which he might take a last farewell of the regiment and the field.”¹

This is not the only memorial of the 71st to be found in the cathedral. A tablet in the nave shows that the heroism which distinguished the regiment at Vittoria had not decayed after a lapse of fifty years. “Erected by the 71st Highland Light Infantry in memory of those who fell in action or died of wounds in the campaign of Eusofzai, North-West Frontier of India, in 1863.” The courage, the restraint, the moderation of the regiment during that campaign won for it golden opinions. “Since the Regiment was embodied,” said Colonel Hope on retiring from the command in 1867, “now ninety years ago, in all parts of the world, in India, in the Cape of Good Hope, in South America, in Spain, the 71st has been equally renowned for conduct and discipline, in the field before the enemy, during a long peace, and in quarters at home and abroad. . . . 1863 again saw the regiment on the Eusofzai Hills, opposed to the warlike tribes of Central Asia. Colonel Hope can never forget the devotion of all officers and soldiers in the short but arduous campaign, nor the handsome terms in which Lord Strathnairn, then the

¹ J. S. Keltie, “History of the Highland Regiments,” ii. 497.

Commander-in-Chief in India, acknowledged their services on its termination.”¹

Of soldiers who have found a grave in the East there are several memorials in different parts of the cathedral. “Lieut. John Stirling, eldest son of Wm. Stirling, Esq., merchant in Glasgow,” was “attached to the Cavalry of His Highness the Nizam,” and “fell while gallantly leading the assault against the fort of Dundhotee on the 3rd of January 1828, aged 23 years. His remains are interred near the spot where he bravely fought and fell: and in testimony of the sense entertained by the Nizam’s government of his heroic conduct, a monument has been raised over his grave at the public expense. This cenotaph,” in the nave of the cathedral, “is erected by his Brother Officers of the Nizam’s Cavalry, in testimony of their high esteem of his public and private worth, MDCCCXXIX.”

Lieutenant Donald Campbell, of the 20th Regiment of Foot, died at Malwan, in the East Indies, on the 26th February 1835, aged 34 years. Both where he was buried, and in the nave of the cathedral, a “token of regret at his early death” has been erected by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of his regiment. Major William Middleton, of the 7th Princess Royal’s Dragoon Guards, who died at Malta on his return from service in India, 18th April 1859, in the 34th year of his age, is also commemorated in the nave by his brother officers. So, likewise, is Alexander Dunlop Anderson, major in the 23rd (Pioneer) Regiment of the Bengal Army, who fell gallantly fighting at the head of his men in the action at the

¹ J. S. Keltie, “History of the Highland Regiments,” ii. 516.

Peiwar Kotal, Afghanistan, on the 2nd December 1878, aged 37 years.

Robert Burn Anderson, Lieutenant, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, was "treacherously taken prisoner by the Chinese when in command of an escort, and under the protection of a flag of truce. He died a victim to the cruelty of a barbarous foe. His dust reposes in the Russian cemetery at Peking with that of his fellow-sufferers, De Norman, Bowlby, Brabazon, Phipps." This language of indignation, so exceptional on a modern monument, was warranted by exceptional circumstances. It was in 1860, in the war waged against China by the allied forces of Britain and France, that the ill-fated company perished. Brabazon was a major; De Norman was attaché to H.M.'s legation; Bowlby was the *Times* correspondent; and Phipps was a private of the Dragoon Guards. They had, under the protection of a flag of truce, entrusted themselves to a party of Chinese at Chang-chai-wan, and were carried off to the Summer Palace at Peking. Nothing was heard of them for a time; but one day, when Colonel, now Lord Wolseley, "was out with a few cavalry, some Tartar troopers fled before him, abandoning five carts. In each of these was a coffin containing the remains" of one or other of those who had been taken from Chang-chai-wan. Their features were unrecognisable, but their identity was proved by their clothing. It transpired that, about an hour after their arrival at the Summer Palace, "they were called out one by one, thrown on their faces, and had their feet and hands tied together behind: and, not content with drawing the cords as tight as possible, the pitiless Chinese wetted them that they might shrink, and cause still greater torture. For three days they were left thus in

the sunshine without food or water, while gaping crowds mocked their misery. If they spoke or prayed for water, they were beaten, stamped on, or kicked about the head. At the end of the third day, a little food was given them, doubtless lest they might die too soon. They were then heavily ironed, and, with their limbs still bound, carried on carts to some hill forts twenty miles from Peking. 'Of the cause of their death,' wrote Sir Hope Grant, 'there can be no doubt. The survivors of each party tell the same sad tale of how they remained with their hands tightly bound with cords until mortification ensued, and they died. The whole party would have doubtless shared the same fate had not their cords been cut on the seventh day or thereabout.' The tidings of these fiendish atrocities aroused throughout the allied army a fierce demand for retribution. The Summer Palace was sacked and burned, and Peking would have been completely bombarded had not peace been declared. A compensation of £100,000 was paid to the relatives of the murdered persons, and a district at the mouth of the Canton River was ceded to the Queen.¹ The personal qualities of



Monument of Andrew Scott in Cathedral Yard.

¹ James Grant, "British Battles on Land and Sea," vol. iii. 249, 257.

Lieutenant Anderson,—“in his home distinguished by generous and devoted love, in his profession by signal bravery and strict observance of duty, in life by unflinching moral courage and consistent rectitude,”—as well as the appalling nature of his death, obtained for him the distinction of two memorials in the cathedral, one on the north wall of the nave, and the other on the floor of the lower church.

George Lyon Walker Grierson, Captain, Royal Horse Artillery, died of cholera at Lucknow on the 19th October 1892. “He was in every respect,” so it was said in an Indian paper at the time of his death, “a model of what an officer should be, and the beau ideal of a horse artilleryman. He was wonderfully active and energetic, and would certainly have risen to a high rank if he had lived. When a subaltern, he was beloved by his men, and on the occasion of his leaving, on promotion to captain in the 47th Field Battery Royal Artillery, he was deeply regretted and much missed by officers and men alike, many of the latter cherishing the fond hope of having the pleasure and good fortune of at some future period again serving under his command. . . . But alas! his promised brilliant career has been cut short, to the regret of all who were acquainted with his fine soldier-like bearing and sterling good qualities.” The brass in the nave of the cathedral was placed there by brother officers with whom he served.

The 93rd Sutherland Highlanders has been one of the most distinguished regiments in the British Army. Its original formation was a conspicuous example of clan feeling. The Countess of Sutherland requested her tenantry to provide the army with a certain proportion of their able-bodied sons, “as a

test at once of duty to their chief and their sovereign." Young men eagerly responded to her appeal, and hastened to enrol themselves as recruits. They were allowed to go about their ordinary callings "until it was announced, in the various parish churches, that their presence was required," and then, "a body of six hundred men was assembled and marched, without a single absentee, to Inverness, where the regiment was inspected by Major-General Leith Hay in August 1800."¹ The colours which are now preserved in the Cathedral of Glasgow were presented to the regiment by the Duke of Wellington at Canterbury in October 1834. In presenting them, the Duke made one of his brief and pointed speeches. "I have passed," he said, "the best part of my life in the barracks and the camps of the troops. The necessities of the service and my duty have compelled me to study the dispositions and the wants of the soldiers, and to provide for them. And again I repeat to you, enforce the observance of the rules of discipline, subordination, and good order if you mean to be efficient, to render service to the public, to be respectable in the eyes of the military world as a military body, to be respected by the community, to be comfortable and happy among yourselves; and above all, if you mean to defend to the last your colours which I have presented to you, the person of your sovereign, and the institutions, dominions, and rights of your country, and to promote its glory, as your predecessors have in this same regiment, by your actions."² The eulogy which the Duke pronounced was no mere flattery. The colours which he presented were destined to wave on fields as

¹ Keltie, "Highland Regiments," ii. 777.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 781.

famous as any on which the 93rd had yet fought and won. It was in the Crimean campaign that the Sutherland Highlanders gained their greatest glory. The glory was not gained without great sacrifice, and underneath the colours so gallantly defended may be read on a tablet the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Major Robert Murray Banner; Brevet-Major John Anstruther M'Gowan; Lieuts. Wm. Lear Macnish, Wm. Turner, James Wemyss, Robert Abercromby, Edward Alfred Ball, Franklin Knight Kirby, thirteen non-commissioned officers, four Drummers: and two hundred and ninety-eight Privates of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders who fell in action or died during the Crimean campaign of 1854-5-6." Major Banner, Lieutenant Kirby, Lieutenant Wemyss, and Lieutenant Ball died of cholera or fever. Lieutenant Macnish was drowned in a swollen stream at Scutari. Lieutenant Abercromby fell at the battle of the Alma. Major M'Gowan was wounded and taken prisoner, nor was it known until a considerable time after his capture that he had died of his wounds.¹

Another regiment represented in the cathedral, both by its old colours and by a monument, is the 74th. The colours are under a glass case on the south wall of the nave, and beneath is a tablet in memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, 2nd Battalion Highland Light Infantry (74th Highlanders), who were killed or mortally wounded at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, on the 13th September 1882, or who died from disease contracted during the campaign in Egypt.

Among those who have fallen in the service of their country

¹ Keltie, "Highland Regiments," ii. 784-87.

may not unfitly be included one who bore a name well known in Glasgow, William West Watson, Lieut.-Colonel 1st Lanarkshire Artillery Volunteers, who was mortally wounded, in the discharge of his duty, by the accidental explosion of a shell at Irvine on the 6th of March 1880.

There is a class of the community which, in a place where pious commemorations are wont to be made, could not be altogether forgotten. The influence of teachers is incalculable. Their memory is cherished by the pupils whose characters they have helped to mould, and whose careers they have helped to shape. Consequently it was to be expected that instructors in various branches of learning should find grateful mention in the cathedral. The High School, or, as it used to be called, the Grammar School, is an ancient institution. So far back as 1591, the kirk-session gave orders "that a commodious place should be looked out in the Quire of the Hie Kirk for the Grammar School bairns on Sunday."¹ On different sites, and with varying fortunes, the institution has seen generation after generation of scholars issue from its walls, and "Grammar School bairns" have erected in the cathedral monuments to at least two of their teachers. One is to the memory of David Allison, a master in the Grammar School, who died in 1808. The other is to the memory of the rector, William Chrystal, LL.D., who died in 1830, aged 54. The death of Dr Chrystal was singularly tragic. As he waited on the wharf at Helensburgh for a steamer to Gourock, two young men offered to take him in a small boat in which they were

¹ "Historical Account of the Grammar School of Glasgow," by James Cleland.

going to cross the river, and, accompanied by two boatmen, they set sail. A violent squall suddenly arose, the boat was sunk, and all were drowned. The body of Dr Chrystal was found floating, and placed on board the steamer by which he had intended to travel. The sad event cast a gloom over a wide circle, and it was resolved to erect a monument to his memory. A bust, surmounted by a Gothic canopy, said to have been of beautiful design, was accordingly prepared and placed in the north transept. This memorial had a chequered history—only a portion of it now remains. The north transept was the place in which, during the repairs which began about that time, workmen's tools and other odds and ends were stored, and for about thirty years the monument was hidden by a barricade. Then, "when the stained glass windows were put in, the canopy was supposed to interfere with a thorough view of the glass, and was removed. Thus for a long time the bust and pedestal remained, while the monument was dismantled." The present canopy was erected a few years ago, to make up in some measure for the removal of the old.

Another monument, which, for a different reason, remained under cover for years, is that which stands outside the cathedral, on the west side of the south door of the nave:—"Here rests George Baillie, a Member of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow, and one of the Sheriffs-Substitute of the County of Perth, who some years before his death divested himself of all his large fortune to endow Baillie's Institution, for promoting the Intellectual Culture of the Operative Classes in Glasgow, by means of Free Public Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Unsectarian Schools, in the City and Suburbs, under the Management of the

Faculty, by whom, with special permission of the Crown, this monument is erected here. May it be an Incentive to others to imitate this rare example of Self-sacrifice and Benevolence. He died 8th February 1873, in his 89th year." This inscription, except the line recording the date of his departure, is said to have been composed by Mr Baillie himself! The monument was erected under his own supervision, but was boarded up and concealed from the public gaze until his death.

The bronze on the north wall of the nave, in memory of Mr William Graham of Burntshields, Renfrewshire, father of the late Mr William Graham, sometime M.P. for Glasgow, is one of the most beautiful and suggestive in the cathedral. It is the work of Mr Alfred Gilbert, A.R.A. "It represents," so has its purport been stated with admirable clearness and conciseness, "it represents Death under happy and hopeful associations. The slight mound at the foot stands for the tomb; the doves are messengers of joy, tokens of purity and love; the bright leaves and flowers, conspicuous amongst which is the poppy, emblem of sleep, tell of the rest and joy of the future awakening.

' There is no Death: what seems so is transition.
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life Elysian,
Whose portal we call Death.'—LONGFELLOW."

Few men were more identified with the development of the varied life of Glasgow during the century than the late Sir James Watson, who was born in 1801 and died in 1889. He was the first stockbroker in the city, and one of the originators of the Stock Exchange. He helped to found the Mechanics' Institute, now incorporated in the Technical College, and he took special

interest in the housing of the poor. "Of our public institutions there is scarcely one with which he was not at one time or another connected, either *ex officio* or by special appointment, and the duties he discharged in no mere formal or perfunctory

manner. In aid of every worthy object he was ever ready to lend earnest advocacy and substantial support."¹ He was Lord Provost from 1871 to 1874, and three years later he was elected Lord Dean of Guild. The monument in the south transept, erected in loving memory by his daughters, cites as appropriate to his long and useful career the words of Scripture: *After he had served his own generation, by the will of God fell asleep.*

Henry Glassford Bell, Sheriff of Lanarkshire, occupied an eminent position on account



Monument of Robert Leckie in the Cathedral Yard.

alike of his legal abilities, his conversational powers, and his literary gifts. His poem "Mary, Queen of Scots," has done as much as anything to foster sympathy for the beautiful captive of Loch Leven and Fotheringay. But, standing by his resting-place in the centre of the nave, where he was

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, August 15, 1889.

laid in 1874, one rather recalls his half-serious, half-playful review of life :—

“ When I behold a bold, bright boy
Pouring intent on every book,
Devouring with an equal joy
Buffon, De Foe, and Captain Cook ;
Or when I see the sparkling eye
With which he handles bow and bat,
I whisper with a gentle sigh—
I’ve done all that, I’ve done all that !

“ Ambition comes, and anxious years,
And dreams of riches or of fame,
The world a listed field appears
Whereon to win a deathless name ;
In ceaseless effort to be first,
Excitement toils where patience sat,
Till, soon or late, the bubbles burst,—
I’ve felt all that, I’ve felt all that !

“ Yet ne’er shall I, on looking back,
Speak coldly of life’s fleeting hours ;
No ! ’tis a wild and varied track
Besprent with weeds that look like flowers ;
And if they wither by and by,
We gain a point at length, whereat
The soul can say, without a sigh,
I leave all that, I leave all that ! ”¹

Two men who exercised in divergent ways no little influence on the religious life of their day have been buried in the cathedral, Robert Haldane and Edward Irving. Robert Haldane, in his youth, served for a short time in the navy. In 1786 he married Katherine Cochrane, daughter of George Oswald of Scotstoun, and settled down to the life of an ordinary country

¹ “ Romances and Minor Poems.”

gentleman. But he came under such deep religious convictions that he gave up all secular pursuits. He at first resolved to go to India as a missionary, but as he had to abandon this intention, he devoted himself, as a lay preacher, to the evangelisation of his own country. "In Edinburgh and other populous towns he erected large buildings for public worship, thereto appointing pastors with adequate emoluments. Personally he took a general superintendence of the churches, distributed copies of the Scriptures, and constituted classes for aspirants to the ministry. From 1798 to 1810 he expended £70,000 in promoting the extension of Christian truth."¹ Nor were his labours confined to Scotland. He taught theology to young men at Montauban and Geneva, and helped in general to develop the religious revival in France and Switzerland. His remains probably lie in the nave, in one of the spaces belonging to the Oswalds of Scotstoun, marked by the initials G. O., but the exact spot there is nothing to indicate.

To many modern pilgrims the holiest ground in the cathedral is the grave of Edward Irving in the lower church. His *Life*, by Mrs Oliphant, not only ranks among the best works of that gifted and lamented writer, but is one of the noblest biographies in the language. And Thomas Carlyle pronounced over him the splendid elegy beginning, "Edward Irving's warfare has closed; if not in victory, yet in invincibility and faithful endurance to the end. The Spirit of the Time, which could not enlist him as its soldier, must needs, in all ways, fight against him as its enemy; it has done its part, and he has done his.

¹ C. Rogers, LL.D., "Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland," i. 458.

One of the noblest natures; a man of antique heroic nature, in questionable modern garniture, which he could not wear!" and concluding, "But for Irving, I had never known what the communion of man with man means. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with: I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world, or now hope to find. . . . Adieu, thou first Friend: adieu, while this confused Twilight of Existence lasts! Might we meet where Twilight has become Day!"¹ That such a man should have been expelled from the ministry of the Church of Scotland may fill us with amazement and sorrow. He was not deposed on account of those extravagances of "prophecies" and "tongues" with which his name is by many chiefly associated, and of which Mrs Carlyle said there would have been none had he married her, but on account of certain heresies concerning the nature of our Lord which he vehemently repudiated. There is comfort in reflecting that he would not be deposed to-day, and that, in any case, his ashes rest in one of the most hallowed shrines of the church which cast him out. It is the *sepulchre of a prophet whom our fathers killed*. Let us not neglect the warning.

Many monuments must remain unnoticed. The limits of space have permitted only the selection, it may even be the arbitrary selection, of comparatively few representative names. But as we go round the cathedral, whether in nave or lower

¹ "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays," vol. v.—"Death of Edward Irving." [On the wall of the house at Annan in which Irving was born, close by the church from which he was deposed, is a tablet on which is inscribed the date of his birth and death, and the words, "He left neither an enemy nor a wrong behind him."—ED.]

church or chapter-house or sacristy or Blacader Aisle, we meet with others also worthy of remembrance, honoured citizens, merchants, landowners, magistrates, who have done their work and entered into their rest; such names as—

Robert Dennistoun of Colgrain, died 1815, and Anne Penelope his wife, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Jura, died 1863.

James Dunlop of Garnkirk, died 1816, and Marion Buchanan his spouse, died 1828.

James Corbett of Tollcross, died 1818; and Laura Gordon his wife, died 1797.

James M'Inroy of Lude, died 1825; his wife Elizabeth Moore, died 1870; their daughter Elizabeth, died 1808; and their son Charles Hagart, died 1810.

Moses M'Culloch of Balgray, died 1832.

Robert Cowan, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University, died 1841.

Wm. Colquhoun Stirling of Law and Edinbarnet, died 1842.

Kirkman Finlay of Castle Toward, M.P., Lord Provost 1812, died 1842.

Robert Findlay of Easterhill and Boturich, died 1862.

Andrew Ure, F.R.S., etc., etc., etc., for many years Professor of Chemistry, Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, and Materia Medica at the Andersonian University. Author of a "Dictionary of Chemistry," a "Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines," and many other scientific works, died in London 1857, and interred in Highgate Cemetery.

The Rev. J. Hamilton Gray of Carntyne, Rector of Walton-le-Wold, died 1867, and his wife Elizabeth Caroline, daughter of James Raymond Johnstone of Alva.

David Kier, master glazier, who inserted with his own hands sixty painted windows in this ancient cathedral, died 1864.

The most recent burial has been that of Jane Crooks, daughter of Adam Crooks and Margaret Erskine Kippen, his wife. She died in October 1889, aged 87, and rests in the chapter-house beside the dust of her father and mother and brother.

It must not be forgotten that there are in the cathedral several monuments which do not technically go by this name, but which are monuments none the less.

The magnificent *Organ* was erected in April 1879, during the incumbency of the Rev. George Stewart Burns, D.D. It was the gift of his wife in memory of her daughter by a former marriage. It bears the inscription:—
“This organ was erected by her family in memory of Frances Jane Grant, eldest daughter of George Grant, jun., Esq., who died on the 29th August 1877, and is dedicated to the glory of God and given for the worship of this Cathedral Church. *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*”



The Reredos and Communion Table.

The marble floor of the chancel “was given by William Gilfillan, in memory of his parents and grandparents, MDCCCXC.”

The *Reredos* bears the inscription:—“To the glory of God and in memory of Sir William Maxwell, 10th Baronet of Calderwood, in the County of Lanark, born 1828, died 1885. This monument was erected by his wife, Dame Jane Maxwell, in the year of our Lord 1893.”

And the richly carved *Communion Table* "was given for the worship of the Cathedral Church, in affectionate remembrance of Robert Garroway, Surgeon, who died 5th May 1887."

Two monuments are in preparation, which will, it is hoped, be worthy memorials of persons whose names must always be gratefully cherished in connection with the cathedral, which they did so much to adorn, Dr and Mrs Burns. On Dr Burns's monument a singularly appreciative estimate, from the pen of one of his most intimate friends, Professor Story, will record "the excellent qualities which marked his character and ministry; the vigour and power of his mind; the sympathetic warmth of his heart; the bright geniality of his social intercourse; his eloquence in the pulpit; his zeal for the beauty of God's house and worship; his constant care of the needy and afflicted; his faithful discharge of every pastoral and public duty. He was a loyal churchman, a useful citizen, a true friend, a man greatly beloved."

Such is a hurried survey of the monuments and their associations. It is a story full of energy, of progress, of piety, of philanthropy, which they suggest. But there are remarkable omissions. We might go over the list and show how, in every profession, names as eminent as those which are mentioned have been left out. To attempt to describe, or even to enumerate, all who by their labours for the well-being of the city and community are deserving of remembrance, would be a needless and an impossible task. But it seems only fitting that those by whom the cathedral itself has been benefited and made illustrious should not be ignored. And the hope may be expressed that, sooner

or later, no visitor will be able to leave the building without having had an opportunity of learning that, at different epochs and under different systems, men like John Robertson, Principal Macfarlan, Archbishop Leighton, Zachary Boyd, Bishop Cameron, Bishop Bondington, have ministered within its walls, and have been identified with its history.

NOTE.—This article deals only with monuments in the cathedral itself or on its walls, but illustrations of a few in the cathedral yard have been inserted in the text, for the sake of their architectural or other interest.

Since these pages have been in type, the monument to Mrs Burns has been erected.

The "Martyrs' Monument" is, for its better preservation, to be placed within the cathedral, in the chapter-house.

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